Planning For Sarvodaya

A. B. SARVA-SEVA-SANGH-PRAKASHAN

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In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the appex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never realizable in its completeness. We must have a proper picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim verity for my picture in which th last is equal to the first or, in other wo no one is to be the first and none the

Harijan, 28-7-'46.

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PLANNING
FOR
SARVODAYA

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PREFACE

Ever since the country became independent, planning has been engaging public attention. Planning is the antithesis of purposeless drifting. It involves the deliberate choice of social objectives and the marshalling and utilizing of resources to realize these objectives expeditiously and economically. The nature of a plan and the dynamics of its programmes will, therefore, depend on the objectives that it seeks to realize.

Sarvodaya visualizes a revolution in the outlook and ways of living that prevail in our society. It visualizes the creation of a new society, the establishment of a non-violent social order. It must, therefore, have a plan for rebuilding society. Believers in Sarvodaya must have a clear conception of their objectives as well as the programmes that will enable them to pilot the transition to a Sarvodaya social order. The "Principles of Sarvodaya Plan" published by the Sarvodaya Planning Committee in 1950 attempted to provide a statement of these objectives and programmes. But the events and experiences of the past few years, the success of the Bhoodan Movement and the increasing appeal of the ideals of Sarvodaya made the Sarva Seva Sangh feel that a more elaborate statement of these objectives and programmes had become a necessity. It therefore, appointed a Sarvodaya Plan Committee (consisting of Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar, Jayaprakash Narayan, Anna Saheb Sahasrabuddhey, R. S. Dhotre, Siddharaj Dhadda, Achyut Patwardhan, Ravindra Varma, Narayan Desai and Shankarrao Deo, with Shri Shankarrao Deo as Convener) to prepare an enlarged statement of this kind.

Meanwhile, the Congress Party and the Government decided to accept the objective of a socialist pattern of society. The principal objective of the Second Five Year Plan has, therefore, been laid down as the establishment of a Socialist economic order. In fact, the Second Five Year Plan is to be the first of a series of plans that will establish a socialist structure of society. It has,

therefore, become necessary for those who believe in Sarvodaya to study the content of the Socialism that the Congress and the Government have accepted as their ideal, and to see how far the objectives, the institutions and the dynamics of the change visualized by Sarvodaya are similar to those envisaged by the Congress and the Government. The best way to do this will perhaps be to set forth the objectives and phases of transition that believers in Sarvodaya visualize.

This is what the Committee has attempted to do. The statement the Committee has prepared is not intended to be an alternative to the Second Five Yeat Plan. Nor does it contain the blue print of a Sarvodaya Plan. In fact, planning for Sarvodaya cannot be based on rigid blue prints. Sarvodaya itself is a growing idea. It has not yet been forced into a strait jacket. Nor should it ever be, if it is not to degenerate into a dogma, but to continue to be a moral leaven that aspires to transform social institutions and relationships, and remould them in the image of Truth and Non-violence.

No one should, therefore, look for a blue print in **'Planning for Sarvodaya'**. It is a draft, and its main purpose is only to help in promoting a clearer understanding of the meaning of Sarvodaya, the principles that should guide a Sarvodaya Plan and the methods and programmes of the transition to a Sarvodaya social order. We are publishing this draft with the hope that the friendly criticism of serious students cf Sarvodaya and planning will help us in improving the draft before it is finalized.

The Committee also wishes to acknowledge its gratitude to the Gandhi Vichar Parishad and its staff. But for their co-operation and the hard work that they put in to collect materials and prepare drafts, it may hardly have been possible to bring out this brochure in such a short time.

SHANKARRAO DEO,
Convener,
Sarvodaya Plan Committee.

INTRODUCTORY

It is now five years since the "Principles of Sarvodaya Plan" was first published on the 30th of January, 1950. Many things have happened since then to warrant a reiteration of the basic principles of the Sarvodaya Plan, and a revision and elaboration of the stages of transition indicated in the brochure brought out five years ago. It is true that, in general, "the Principles" received acclamation even from unexpected quarters. It is also true that in the discussions and re-appraisals that ensued, it became clear that a more radical stand could have been taken in the delineation of some institutions and sectors, and that there were many points that needed further elucidation.

Of the major factors that have necessitated a revision, the Bhoodan movement and its auxiliaries are perhaps the most important. They have concentrated our attention on the immediate need for bringing about a peaceful and non-violent transformation in the fundamental economic institutions and relationships of our society, and have given us further convincing proof, if proof was necessary, of the way in which the non-violent technique can rouse the slumbering conscience of society and achieve fundamental changes through the organized expression of public opinion without waiting for legislation or depending on the coercive power of the State.

The intentions of the Government, and the trends and effects of its policies have also become clearer in these five years. The First Five-Year Plan of the Government was formulated and put into operation a few months after the "Principles of the Sarvodaya Plan" was published. The five years for which this plan was intended are now over, and much of what it proposed to achieve in terms of targets of production has been achieved. The Planning Commission and the Government are now engaged in assessing the progress achieved by the First Plan and finalizing a Second Five-Year Plan.

The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan has been approved by the Planning Commission and its panels, and has now been placed before the Parliament. While the First Plan was hesitant and talked of a mixed economy, the Second Plan appears to be much more forthright and unambiguous in its objectives and

orientation. While the principal object of the First Plan was not to remould the economic structure on a specific ideological pattern, but to survey and marshall resources, to establish stability and to prepare "for more rapid advance in the future," the Second Plan has declared that its principal objective is the establishment of a Socialist economic order. Its immediate objectives have been laid down as "(a) sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country; (b) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power." The Plan argues that a significant increase in the national income cannot be secured without a substantial increase in production and investment, that "rapid industrialization is the core of development," and that rapid industrialization should lay emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries. These heavy industries will produce machines that will be available, in course of time, to produce increased quantities of consumers' goods. But till these industries are sufficiently developed, and the requisite number and variety of machines and tools are made available, consumers' goods will have to be produced primarily by village industries that can function on comparatively negligible investments of capital and yet provide employment for a very large number of persons. The rapid industrialization, the development of village and small-scale industries and the construction programmes envisaged in the Plan are expected to provide employment for an additional 10 million men.

All this leaves no room to doubt that the Government has made up its mind about the kind of economic structure that it wants to build up in this country. It is to be a socialist pattern that depends on rapid and heavy industrialization, and looks upon village industries as providential aids in the period of transition. It has, therefore, become necessary for those who desire the establishment of a Sarvodaya society to state what a Sarvodaya economic and social order would be like, and to indicate the steps that may constitute a transition to Sarvodaya.

Moreover, the rapid and heavy industrialization that the Second Five-Year Plan visualizes is bound to pave the way for the establishment of a highly centralized administrative and economic structure unless there is a positive and purposive re-

orientation of policy to proceed towards progressive decentralization. There are schools of Socialism that regard such centralization as compatible with, and even essential for, the efficient functioning of a socialist order. But Sarvodya does not believe in concentrating more and more power, even in the hands of the State. It believes in the devolution of political power and the decentralization of the processes of production and distribution. The industrial system that it visualizes is one that produces enough and provides employment for all, without concentrating ownership and power in the hands of a few managers of industry or a few servants of the State. It does not believe that an increase in the national income will percolate to the masses unless full and integral employment is provided for all. It does not believe in indiscriminate industrialization that provides a few with power over all. It believes that industry itself should be revolutionized to subserve the interests of all.

The Second Five-Year Plan expects village industries to play an important role in the production of consumers' goods, and refers to the need to work out an 'integral' or 'common'production programme. It also provides for improving the techniques and tools that are in vogue in these industries, and sets apart a sum of Rs. 200 crores for organizing production through village and small scale industries. This is only an expansion of the common production programme that the First Five-Year Plan itself visualized and has, therefore, to be understood and evaluated in the light of the experience gained by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board and the other Boards that have been set up to facilitate the implementation of the common production programme.

The establishment of these Boards and the experience gained by them have also thrown some light on the place that the Planning Commission and the Government are willing to concede to decentralization and all that Khadi and Village industries stand for. It is now three years since the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board was formed. Other Boards like the Handloom Board, the Coir Board, the Central Oil Seeds Committee, the Handicrafts Board, the Silk Board, etc., too have been working for nearly three years. There is a good deal of duplication and neutralization of efforts, since two or more Boards are sometimes entrusted with the development of the same industry or sectors of an allied industry. Thus, the Ghani Section of the

All India Khadi and Village Industries Board and the Central Oil Seeds Committee both cover much the same field, the Handloom Board and the Khadi Board both deal with handlooms and weavers, including weavers of silk-fabrics, etc. But the duplication that the absence of co-ordination causes is not the main handicap that the Boards are experiencing. The main difficulty has been the absence of a definite policy. A Silk Board has been set up but new silk factories too are allowed to be established. A Committee has been set up to report on the hand-pounding of rice, but 3 to 4 thousand hullers too have been allowed to be installed. The Khadi and Village Industries Board has been asked to popularize the Ghani, but a large number of oil mills are also allowed to be set up. All these lead one to the conclusion that the help offered to these industries is only a transitory affair to prevent a further increase in unemployment and to supplement the volume of consumers' goods produced by mills and factories, and not a serious effort to improve the technical efficiency of these industries and organize the production of consumers' goods through a network of decentralized industries.

The difficulties experienced by the Khadi and Village Industries Board have thus proved the inability of finance to counteract or combat the effects of policies that are inimical or indifferent to the essential pre-requisites of a decentralized economic order. It is clear, therefore, that Khadi, as the symbol of a decentralized economic structure, cannot succeed without an unequivocal reorientation of industrial policy.

The Community Projects and the National Extension Schemes that are visualized by the Government's Plans are equally important from the point of view of those who want to study the nature and effects of intensive schemes to reorganize the life of our rural population. The aim of all such schemes should be to increase the general welfare of the poorest section of the community. The location of these projects should also be guided by the necessity to see that their benefits are brought within the reach of the most backward areas of the region. The conditions on which aid is offered to the inhabitants of a Project Area should also be such as enable the poor to avail of the benefits of schemes. If these considerations are not regarded as of supreme importance, the benefits of the projects may reach only a few and it may well be that these few happen to be those who are already rich by rural standards.

Community Projects as they have developed do not seem to have touched the poorest section of our rural population. They have no doubt resulted in more jobs and more benefits to some. But inequality has not disappeared in the project areas. There may, therefore, be a danger of the projects strengthening the vested interests in the rural areas unless land is brought under common ownership and programmes and conditions of aid are re-oriented to ensure that benefits reach those on the lowest rung of the ladder.

All these and the fact that the Plans of the Government may set the country on the road to centralization and unhealthy industrialization have made it necessary for those who believe in decentralization and Sarvodaya to present their views unambiguously and organize public opinion in support of their programmes and point of view.

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PART ONE

I

A dark malevolent shadow hangs over the Earth today—the shadow of the Hydrogen Bomb. Under this evil spreading shadow humanity leads an anxious, fearful life.

Present man prides himself on the great heights to which his civilization has risen. The achievements of science and technology, the gigantic scale and rate of production, the unprecedented rise in the standard of living in the leading countries of the West are indeed dazzling.

Yet, beneath all this brilliant veneer, is the highly 'civilized' and advanced man of the present day essentially different from the ancient savage wielding his bloody bludgeon. The fact that the nuclear weapon has replaced the barbaric club does not alter the essential sameness of their characters—their preparedness to kill their brother.

The main concern of the great nations seems to be to make the fullest possible use of all available resources and of science and technology in order more effectively to destroy one another. The fact that they all justify these efforts on the plea of 'defence' does not alter their essentially murderous character. That more and more of civilization should mean that man should be more and more afraid of man cannot but be its highest condemnation.

If atom-splitting, space-speeding, television-ary man has not learnt the simple lesson that it is not human for man to kill man, what are his science and technology, his television-set and all his other accessories of civilization worth ?

In this respect there is no essential difference between the two civilizations that are confronting each other in anger and hatred—the Soviet and the Western. The main thing that has

kept them from flying at each others throat is not the humanity of either, but the fear of the devastating character of their weapons that threaten to leave no distinction between victor and vanquished.

Diplomatic attempts are no doubt being made at present to save the world from the nemesis of atomic war. These are laudable efforts, but they do not go to the root of the problem. Therefore, they are not likely to offer any lasting solution. They may even become a dangerous delusion.

That there is thus a crisis in human civilization is being commonly realized. It is being progressively understood that unless the moral evolution of man catches up with the evolution of his science and technology, the future of the human race is doomed. The very achievements of science would destroy the race and its civilization. Thus the main problem of the human race is moral and not economic or political.

Present-day civilizations, both capitalist and Soviet, emphasize the pursuit of material happiness, i.e., the need to acquire ever more material goods for the realization of greater and greater happiness. In this respect, the only difference between the capitalist and Soviet ways of living is that while the one emphasizes individual effort as a means of acquisition, the other stresses the value of collective endeavour. To endeavour collectively for an objective is no doubt better than to have a dog-fight. But whether the effort is individual or collective, the objective remains the same. The mischief is in the objective itself.

Few will dispute that man is more than a mere bundle of sense-organs and the aim of human life more than the mere indulgence of those organs. But the drive of both the modern civilizations—despite the protest of some clear-sighted thinkers—is mainly, if not wholly, towards this indulgence. Sensual enjoyment and the multiplication of all manner of material and 'cultural' aids to sensuality seem to have become, if not the sole,

the main object of life. Both civilizations in like measure are endeavouring to multiply material goods, and make human life their slave. An ever-and-ever-rising standard of living is the God that they both worship. Where they place voluntary checks on this mad race, it is in the interest of a madder race,—the race of armaments, which is only the other side of the medal.

It is this race that has led modern man to the horrors of the Hydrogen Bomb, and that threatens ultimately to lead him to his total destruction. It is time, therefore, that this race were halted and men paused to examine the motivations and goals of their life.

While the physical wants of man must be fulfilled—even in an ample measure, let it be granted—the indefinite and artificial multiplication of those wants with the consequent rush to satisfy them and the indulgence of the senses cannot be the goal of human life. Man would then be driven restlessly by this insatiable hankering for more and more, never finding peace or happiness, never being able to control himself. All human values would then come to be subjugated to this one goal of life, and thus suffer an eclipse. All the latent virtues of man, save this one virtue—if it can be called a virtue—of producing and acquiring things, would be smothered, and human personality, in spite of the abundance and dazzle of things adorning it, would become stunted and one-sided. Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, Gandhi would lose all significance in such a civilization.

Therefore, man today has to launch again upon a voyage of self-discovery and self-control. While not under-estimating the importance of material goods for the fulfilment of his life, he must delve deeper into his nature and recognize its finer strands, throw out the dross and learn to bring out and develop his true essence. The ways of this self-discovery and self-mastery may be varied, but in any case he must begin by freeing himself from the de-sensitizing worship of things and the bondage of the

senses. His search will be rewarding in proportion to his disentanglement from the senses and the grip of things. Production and acquisition of things would then fall into their proper place in the complex of civilization and cease to dominate it. The mad rush would then be halted and a new vision of life be opened up before humankind. Thus *Atma-jnan* and *Brahmacharya* are the crying needs of modern civilization.

In this age of science, there is a tacit assumption that the sole purpose of science is to keep raising ever higher man's standard of living and accelerating the production of goods. Science undoubtedly should be used to satisfy human wants, to remove pain and cure disease. But science cannot be used to pander to man's vulgarity and lack of self-culture and be the means of quickening his insatiable hankering for things. There is no contradiction between the growth of sicence and the moral development of man. Indeed, unless science is subordinated to the moral purposes of life and the higher nature of man—to truth, love and kindness and the good of all humankind—science would turn out to be a curse and the cause of man's total destruction. Only in the marriage of *Vijnan* to *Atma-jnan* is the fruition and fulfilment of science.

In India we stand at the threshold of a new life. We have the unique opportunity that seldom comes to a people, of building, as it were, from scratch. The steps we take today, the direction we choose now, are going to determine the course of our national life for generations to come. It is necessary, therefore, to ponder well and choose our course discriminatingly.

We are fortunate in that the emphasis of our civilization has always been on inner rather than outer development, and the values stressed have always been moral and spiritual. But the material advance of the West has been so impressive, and our material poverty is so extreme, that there is a danger of our being swamped by the Western worship of things. There is no doubt

that the prime task in our country is to raise the standard of living of the people, but in doing so, care should be taken to guard against the danger of losing sight of our goal. This is a task not to be accomplished by legal limitation of incomes—though that would be necessary as a measure of social justice—but by education and the voluntary limitation of wants by persons in privileged positions. That is to say, a philosophy and pattern of life would have to be evolved by precept and example ultimately to be accepted by the community as its normal way of life.

This race for the production and acquisition of more and more material goods would have been less destructive of human values, less the cause of human suffering and conflict, and less dangerous to civilization, had not each participant in the race attempted to acquire the most for himself regardless of the shares that fell to the others.

The philosophy behind this cut-throat competition, no doubt, has been that if each endevoured to achieve his own exclusive good, there would ensue, in some mysterious manner, the good of all. But, history is a tragic refutation of this philosophy.

In truth, there need not be, nor can possibly be, any conflict between the good of one man and the good of another. Indeed, the good of one cannot but be the good of all, and *vice versa.* It is only the emergence of false values—such as the value of private ownership—that has distorted the picture and created the apparent conflict. This apparent conflict must be removed by the rejection of the false values and the realization of the unity of mankind.

Man is a social animal. He is born, lives and works and has his being in society. In a thousand seen and unseen ways he receives the co-operation of his fellowmen. Without this co-operation his life would be insupportable, indeed he would remain at the animal level; that is to say, if he at all succeeded in keeping alive. Yet, in the so-called battle of life, everyone thinks of

himself (and his little family), and regards the gains of the battle as exclusively his own, though, in truth, they are the results of social co-operation and should belong to society as a whole. There has been and is today this curious contradiction in man's life: On the one hand, he lives *with* others, and on the other, he lives *for* himself.

This is not so with the other social animals. Herds, packs, colonies, hives have a pattern of life in which each lives for all and all for each. This high social 'morality' there is worked out by instinct and organic laws.

Human society is super-organic, and what instinct and organic laws have left undone has to be achieved here by culture, i. e. the moral effort of man. Up to a point there has been an organic ascent in the world of life. Beyond that the ascent has to be moral in nature. This is the steep climb that man has to negotiate. Today this climb has become for him a matter of life and death, because if each does not live for all and all for each, each and all are going to perish.

From the beginning, perhaps, the family, among humans, has been the unit where this mutuality of life has existed. This mutuality is based on love and on the natural acceptance of the idea that all that the family possesses belongs to all its members. But the motivation here too is organic rather than super-organic or cultural. The family perhaps was small at first, then its size grew. Slowly, degrees of mutuality developed in wider circles, and co-operation and mutual aid for specific purposes came to be practised on fairly large scales. But in the first place, this mutuality hardly ever comprehended the whole of life; and in the second place, the very purpose of the co-operation was to keep the benefits within the group concerned and exclude the rest. Man's moral nature and his culture will come into full bloom only when the principle of mutuality of life is extended to embrace the whole human race. This mutuality would be based

on love and the true understanding of the nature of social living, that is to say, on the recognition of the truth that all property and acquirements, being the result of social endeavour, belong jointly to society and must be shared equitably among all its members.

In ages past, congregations of men lived in relative isolation from one another, and the possibilities of conflict or co-operation were limited. Now science has brought men near together, and converted the whole world, as it were, into a neighbourhood. In this age, therefore, both conflict and co-operation have become global. Man today has, therefore, to choose between global conflict and global co-operation. In other words, now there can only be either a world civilization or no civilization at all.

In making this choice science comes to man's rescue. Sharing, always an enriching moral experience, had its fears when there was not enough for all. But science has now placed in the hands of man the means of universal material happiness. There is no need any more for a dog-fight between men. If men could only learn to share and cease to covet, a new page in human history could be turned.

Thus both external and internal developments—i. e., the development of science and the moral development of man—are pointing in the same direction and to the same goal—a life of co-operation and sharing among all men upon this earth.

On the one hand, the moral development of man requires that he take the final step in his ascent and learn to identify his good in the good of all.

On the other hand, the development of science warns us of the dire consequences if the conflict of "interests" among men does not cease and the mutuality of life is not universally accepted.

"Co-existence" is in current fashion. But co-existence is not enough. Nations cannot go on living their own selfish lives, accumulating wealth and power, perpetrating crime and injustice

and violence within their frontiers and "spheres of influence", and continue to "co-exist". In such a state of co-existence, the selfish interests of the nations, remain perpetually in conflict, and it cannot be possible always to maintain a tight-rope balance between them. A more positive approach than co-existence is necessary if the world is to be saved from catastrophe. Co-existence must grow into co-operation and sharing, else co-existence, based as it is on the selfish view that each is entitled to hold on to what each has, and that each may go on adding to his own possessions irrespective of what happens to the others, must eventually lead to co-destruction. World peace can be firmly assured only when nations, like individuals, learn to sacrifice for fellow-nations; to share goods, services and knowledge amongst themselves; and to limit voluntarily their consumption and living standards for the sake of brother nations.

II

It is obvious that a society built upon the principles enunciated above would be very different from the society in which we are living. It is difficult for us today with all our limitations to visualize fully this society of the future, to whose building, it is clear, all men of goodwill must now put their hands. Yet, it is possible to see some of the features, at least, of this society in which love is to reign and the good of all is to be realized.

As to its general features, it is obvious that in such a society there will be freedom for all and utmost equality; there will be no classes and no castes; no exploitation nor injustice; and equal opportunity for each for fullest self-development. Man will be the centre of such a society, but self-interest will not be the basis of social organization. Life in such a society will not be one-sided but integrated and whole, so that work, art and play will form a unified pattern making possible the growth of an integrated human personality.

In the economic field, all wealth, including land, will be considered as common property to be used for the good of each and all; there will be no distinctions of capital and labour; and profit, rent, interest and wages will lose their meaning and disappear; everyone will work for society according to his capacity and receive from society in accordance to his needs and in consonance with the needs of his fellowmen. Production in such a society will not be for commerce, but for consumption and mutual sharing; and there will be no private accumulations of wealth because all wealth will belong to society and each will receive only according to his needs and in consonance with the needs of his fellowmen. Even social accumulations will be limited, remaining only as a safeguard against unforeseen needs.

The life of such a society will be self-regulated, that is to say, there will be no regulation from above, or as little of it as possible, the people regulating or, rather, managing their affairs directly themselves. Government in such circumstances will undergo a sea-change, it will no longer remain an instrument of coercion, for there will be no need of coercion in such a society, except the coercion—if it can be so called—of love.

In other words, to recall the famous saying of Engels, the administration of men will give place to the administration of things and "government" will be replaced by "management". In an exploitative and acquisitive society men need to exercise power over other men so as to prevent them from acting in a manner detrimental to the privileged classes. This is government proper or "administration of men". In a co-operative society in which wealth is social property and is voluntarily shared according to requirements, there will be no need for men to govern or administer other men; there will be need only to administer things, i. e., to manage the production and distribution of goods.

The political and economic institutions that will arise to embody these principles and forms of life are difficult to envisage.

Yet, one conclusion appears inescapable. A life of mutual aid and sharing, and of freedom and self-regulation and self-management can be best lived in small communities, whether rural or urban. To serve those that one personally knows and to share with them is easy and meaningful and satisfying, but to serve and share in the abstract is difficult. Further, freedom is often in danger, and at all times limited and unreal to a degree, when the affairs of large bodies of men are regulated by delegated authority functioning from a centre, distant from the people. Freedom can be enjoyed fully and democracy practised directly and intelligently only when small communities are able to manage and regulate their own affairs.

This does not mean that there will be no larger communities and no co-operation and sharing between them and no management of their affairs. There will be larger communities, not in the ascending order, but in the nature of concentric circles, the widest circle, picturesquely called by Gandhiji, the oceanic circle encompassing the entire world community. But the primary communities will have more power and functions, only the secondary functions, such as that of co-ordination, remaining with the wider circles. Yet, all these circles, and the men composing them, will be bound together by love, every individual living for the whole of humanity and humanity living for every individual. This is how Gandhiji puts this matter :

> "In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."

It will be the concern of the primary communities to look after the well-being of all their members, to see that their needs are fulfilled, that health, education and other services are maintained, agriculture and industry are well looked after, disputes if they arise, as they do in the family, are amicably settled, protection is provided from wild animals, and anti-social elements are at once prevented from doing harm and treated with a view to their being weaned away from wrong. As far as possible every primary community will produce at least the essentials of its life. This will ensure freedom, and at the same time make co-operation between wider circles of communities easy. It should not be imagined that in such a society life will not rise above the level of bare and monotonous existence. Indeed, there will be ample opportunity for a varied and cultured life—but nevertheless a life of self-restraint.

Expereince has shown that when production has been concentrated in very large plants, there is danger of concentration of power and wealth, of bureaucratism and exploitation (alike under private and public ownership). Decentralization of production will, therefore, be preferred in the new society, not out of any partiality for primitive tools of production, but because of its sociological values, important among which will be the avoidance of the dangers just mentioned. Even in a decentralized system of production, it is possible to raise progressively the technological level. This has not happened in the present society because science and technology have been subjugated to the interests of profit and the cause of violence. The profit-makers, as also the war-makers, preferred centralized, large-scale industry because it yielded greater profits and produced more destructive engines of war. Science and technology, yoked to the service of a peaceful, non-exploitative society, will follow a different line of development, and tools will be fabricated that will make decentralized industry far more efficient and productive than today. Thus, there will be the fullest possible scope for the development

of science, which for the first time in history will be truly dedicated to the good of all humanity.

There is another aspect of modern technology which deserves notice here. In the name of progress, technology is being so developed in the form of automation that all that will remain for normal men to do will be to push buttons, it being left to the brainiest few to do all the thinking, planning and designing.

The ancients spoke of the folly of placing knowledge at the disposal of the unworthy. We see in this modern trend a good example of this folly. While man should be freed from the drudgery and tedium of work, to free him from work itself is to condemn him to purposeless existence in which his limbs and faculties will become atrophied. The conception of all play and no work is full of mischief; it will make of life a vacuum, and empty culture of its substance and turn the world into a mad house or a modern Bacchanalia. The human body must have physical exercise. What more natural than to turn work itself into health-giving exercise ? Indeed, the division of work and play is itself ill-conceived. That work alone is conducive to balanced development which is useful to the community, health-giving, pleasurable and creative. Thus in the society of the future all differences between mental and manual labour will be abolished, and work, play and art will mingle together to make life worth living. It remains to point out that here is another argument in favour of small-unit production, because it is only here that such an ideal kind of work can be found.

There are certain industries, however, which for various reasons, such as their raw materials being concentrated in small areas, can be run only on a large sale. There will, perforce, be centralized production in the sector of such industries. But, as all other wealth, they will be the property of the community. And through the machinery of industrial democracy and suitable processes of people's participation in management, the dangers of

bureaucratism and concentration of power will be sought to be reduced to the minimum.

One very important type of large scale industry, namely, the armaments industry, will find no place in this society, for there will be no cause for wars then and no need of armies.

The political life of such a society will naturally be very different from what it is today. Its decentralized nature has been emphasized above, and it has been pointed out that "management" will take the place of government, and further, that the most important problems of the people's life, such as those of providing for the essential needs, education, health, etc., will be dealt with in the primary communities.

In the absence of any conflict of interests, and in view of the co-operative pattern of life and the desire for harmony and goodwill, all decisions will be taken according to the general consensus of opinion rather than by the counting of votes. This does not mean that there will be no differences of opinion. But these differences will arise on questions pertaining to the general good, rather than be centred in individual or sectional self-interest. It is possible that opinions based on self-interest may sometimes be made to appear as being grounded in the general interest. But when their true nature is discovered, the operation of social censure is bound to cause their quick withdrawal. But, even as regards the common good, there may, at times, arise a sharp difference of opinion. In such cases, decisions will be deferred, even though the issues involved might be of importance. The view will be that in the long run it is better to preserve harmony and goodwill even at the cost of delay or loss.

Inspite of the care taken to take decisions by general agreement, it might happen that an individual or a small group of persons feels that a particular decision has been so wrongly taken, or that it so violates a matter of conscience, that it must be resisted. In such cases the community will freely admit the right to

Satyagraha, it being understood that the same right can be exercised by the others too. Satyagraha thus will be the sheet-anchor of individual and civil liberty.

Each primary community will select a few persons from amongst itself to perform specific services and functions. This selection too will be by general agreement. There will be no payment made for these services, because each individual, in his capacity as a member of the community, will have been already provided for. Administration thus will not cost anything in the matter of salaries.

The affairs of the outer circles will be conducted by bodies formed on the principle of indirect election by the primary communities and the inner circles. These bodies too will function by general agreement, and there too no salaries will be paid to their members or office-holders.

It should be clear from all this that there will be no room in this future society for the party system as known today—whether in the West or in the Soviet world—and no struggle for power.

This—even though its shape is not very clear yet—will be a form of polity very different from the polities of socialism, communism or welfare-ism. In everyone of these, power is concentrated at the top, and only the left-over powers are delegated to the bottom, i.e., to the people. The parties, the parliaments, the bureaucrats are all-powerful, the people's function beginning and ending mostly with the election of their representatives—and that too under the guidance and control of large, centralized parties.

Education in this society will play a vital role. It will mainly be the concern of the primary communities, several of them co-operating together to provide for higher education. Education will not be removed from life but be a part of it and be linked with work and production and the activities of the community. It will be the aim of education to bring out and develop the latent goodness in man. All education will be free.

III

Such a society, as compared with the present, appears to be a distant dream. Indeed, "Utopian" is the charge that is likely to be made against us for presenting such an "idealistic" picture. Yet, as we have seen, this course of human evolution has become a categorical imperative for human survival. Further, and more important, why should man who has progressed so far on the road to science and material prosperity, recoil from this pilgrimage of the soul, this moral ascent? Why should it be considered an impossible or impractical task? In any case, can there be another human undertaking more exciting, another cause more worthy of man's loyalty? Man surely owes it to himself to make a serious effort to realise this dream, if it is a dream.

How can this be done? What can be the dynamics of this unique revolution? It is clear that while institutional changes have to be made and new institutions favourable to this way of life created, the centre of this entire process must be man himself. Some of the institutional changes and constructions for the transitional period have been indicated in some detail below. Here the human process has been described.

A social order based on love and self-restraint cannot be established by coercion or violence, nor can people be made to love by force. Wealth may be forcibly or legally **distributed,** but it cannot be **shared** by force.

Sharing can only be by love and inner urge. Distribution implies outward change, sharing, inward change. Distribution implies change in law, sharing, change in the heart and mind of man, in his values of life. Other revolutionary ideologies have concentrated on outward change. The view herein presented makes inward change the centre.

Experience of revolutions shows that outward change is not enough, nor does it lead necessarily to inward change. It shows further that in the absence of inward change, the outward changes

so ardently desired and so dearly paid for, come gradually to be rechanged, defeating in time the very purposes of the revolution. Equality, for instance, has been one supreme object of revolutions. But no revolution has yet succeeded in establishing equality. There cannot be equality except on the basis that every one gives his best to society and society gives every one what he needs. But even after the most thorough-going outward revolution, such as the Russian, men have been reluctant to put forth their best irrespective of remuneration, or to receive equal remuneration for unequal work, skill and talent. Thus, even in societies where private rent, interest and profit—i.e., the main sources of economic inequality—have been abolished, gaping inequalities have grown as a result of the demand to be paid not according to needs but to position, status, ability and output. Payment according to work and status does not take into account the needs of the worker, so that an ordinary worker with a large family gets far less, let us say, than a manager with a much smaller family,—thus perpetuating inequality and social injustice. This danger of inequality is augmented when those who evaluate others' work and determine their remuneration are also in a position to evaluate their own performance and settle their own emoluments. This happens in all centralized and bureaucratic societies, and is the chief source of danger to socialism and communism as currently preached and practised.

This case of economic inequality well illustrates our point that without internal change, i.e., change in the inside of man, external change, i.e., change in his environment, is not enough. Unless men are impelled from within to give their best and take only what they need, not only is equality not possible, but also not social peace and justice.

How then can this inward change be brought about? Obviously not by force or compulsion. It is possible only through love, reason, persuasion and example. But is it possible to have a social or mass movement of inward change? This change is occurring

every day where the example and precept of good men are felt. But these are rare and isolated cases of "conversion". Unless this conversion takes place on a mass scale, there will be no new social order created and no new values of life established. It was Mahatma Gandhi's greatest contribution to the cause of humanity that he fashioned a technique for the mass "conversion" of the human heart and mind.

Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement is a brilliant application of this technique.

Other ideologies, concerned only with outward change, posit the conflict of interests as the motive force behind social change. Powerful movements have been developed on this basis. But their achievements do not arouse much enthusiasm, nor give much promise for the future. Greed for power, position or wealth; discord and violence still reign supreme even where these movements have achieved some success. Freedom and equality are yet a distant dream. In relation to the human and social goals, herein visualized, these ideologies have little relevance. A conflict of selfish interests cannot result in the annihilation of selfishness and the establishment of the social value of selflessness. And when selfishness remains, social conflict remains, with all the attendant evils.

The main cause of the failure of revolutionary movements so far has been this moral failure. The greed, the selfishness, the possessiveness of the rich have been denounced, but the poor have not on their part given up their greed, selfishness or possessiveness. The wealth of the capitalists is demanded to be socialized, but the workers consider their earnings and what little properties they possess as exclusively their own. The small cultivators want the lands of the big land-owners to be distributed, but are not prepared to surrender a decimal of their own little possessions. The sense of proprietorship of the poor is no weaker than that of the capitalists and landlords. It is not realized that the huge private properties of the rich are the apex of a pyramid, the base of which is composed of the millions of little properties

of the poor. Large private accumulations of wealth exist, because there are millions of small private accumulations. If millions of ordinary people came to realize that all wealth, whether in large or small accumulations being socially produced was social property, and should be equitably shared; and, realizing this, if they renounced their sense of proprietorship, the whole structure of private accumulation of wealth would come tumbling down.

Here there is a new dynamic of social change. The revolutionary classes that want inequality, social injustice and exploitation, selfishness and acquisitiveness to be banished from society, **must begin with themselves.** They must begin, because they are the revolutionaries, to practise in their own lives the values that they wish to establish in society. Instead of coveting the wealth of the rich, they should shed their own possessiveness and acquisitiveness and pool what they have and share it equitably amongst themselves. If millions do this, a moral climate and a social compulsion would be created that would induce the rich also to surrender their wealth and share it with the rest of society. If any of them should fail to do so, those with whose co-operation they had carried on their business of maintaining and acquiring wealth would be justified in withdrawing their co-operation. This non-co-operation, let it be clear, would not be motivated by greed or covetousness, but by the anxiety not to co-operate with wrong or evil. As long as poor themselves were guilty of the sins of greed, possessiveness and acquisitiveness, there was no justification for them to non-co-operate with anyone guilty of the same sins, merely on the ground that the latter had succeeded more in their acquisitiveness. Non-co-operation in those conditions would only be a form of coercion for exacting from the rich a larger share.

The Bhoodan movement is a fine example of this new social dynamic.

While Bhoodan is a fine example of this new social dynamic, it need not be the only form to be practised everywhere. It is

the philosophy and technique of it that are all important. The nations of the world may devise their own movements in pursuance of that philosophy and technique. These nations are presently engaged in the race of armaments production. If instead of that they launch their own movements for sharing within and between the nations, a fraction of the present astronomical expenditure on armaments could establish world peace and rescue humanity from the fear of total destruction. Co-existence would then change into co-operation, leading to the good of all nations and all men upon the earth.

PART TWO

I. OBJECTIVES

The objective of the Sarvodaya Plan is the establishment of a Sarvodaya social order. Sarvodaya is not content with the Utilitarian doctrine of achieving the greatest good of the greatest number. Nor does it believe that an inevitable historical process is polarizing society into classes with nothing but conflicting interests, and producing forces that have only to be accelerated by the scientific application of violence to enable the numerically overwhelming class of the down-trodden to come to power and establish a classless society through a dictatorship. It is not a philosophy that regards the maximization of material well-being as the main or the only measure of social progress.

Sarvodaya, as the word implies, stands for the all-round well-being of all. It believes that institutions and relationships in society should be fashioned on the twin principles of Truth and Non-violence. It believes that the only enduring cohesive forces that can weld men together in a society of the free and the equal are love and co-operation, and not constraint and coercion. These forces can neither be generated nor strengthened by giving free play to the competitive and combative strains in man. A Sarvodaya society cannot, therefore, find expression in a State which has perfected the instruments of coercion, nor in a system of competition, where selfish motives of private profit over-ride love and fellow-feeling, and nullify the theoretical faith in equality. It has to be a social order in which the institutional expression of power, which is the symbol of constraint and coercion, is rendered unnecessary or atleast reduced to the modicum that is unavoidable in the stage that has been reached in the progress towards non-violence. The Sarvodaya society thus believes in order, but not in enforced order. It believes that restraint is essential

to prevent liberty from deteriorating into licence, but refuses to believe that man is made of so base a metal that he can see reason and subserve the demands of common interest only if he is subjected to external restraint. It believes, on the other hand, that with progress in enlightenment, man may acquire sufficient self-restraint to render the organzation and use of external restraint superfluous. The State may then be a superfluity. But even if this ideal is one in the distant horizon, the progressive increase in the self-restraint that individuals exercise will certainly justify an atrophy in the authority of the State and a progressive devolution of its authority to groups and institutions that need no sanction but that of co-operation, persuasion, love and evident common interest.

The Sarvodaya society will, therefore, be one in which the pooling and using of power as an instrument of social cohesion and progress will yield place to the methods of persuasion and Satyagraha. This will begin with a simultaneous process of the decentralization of the power that is at present concentrated in political and economic institutions, and of educating people in the nature and art of Satyagraha, which is the ultimate guarantee against the abuse of power. The decentralization and devolution of economic and political power to progressively smaller units that can forgo the sanctions of coercion will, therefore, be the keynote of the transition to a Sarvodaya social order. Such a decentralized social order will be democratic and equalitarian. In fact, decentralization is the *sine qua non* of democracy and equality, since democracy, in theory, stands for the equal distribution of power.

Not only political power but also the ownership of all that helps to generate power over men will be decentralized. The ownership of instruments of production will not be concentrated in the hands of a few. Instruments of production will, as far is possible, be owned by the individual producer himself and, where this is not possible, by the social group that uses them and benefits by them. There will thus be no exploitation of man by

man, no manipulation of the means of production to reduce the majority of men into wage-earning machines and to elevate a minority into the lap of idle luxury. There will be no classes since every one will have to work and produce to earn his livelihood. Since the instruments of production will be such as can be owned and operated by the producer himself, there will be no exploitation and no division of society into classes. All socially useful work, whether it be manual or intellectual, will be regarded as of equal social value. Nor will traditional social barriers and conceptions of caste have any place in a Sarvodaya order. It will be a society of the free and the equal who realize their responsibilities and maintain social cohesion by self-restraint and co-operation. Such a society will be united by the same bonds of affection that subserve and uphold the family. Each will feel for all, and all will feel for each. Each will enjoy the fruits of his labour for all. All will labour that each may have the requisites of material well-being necessary for the moral, cultural and spiritual progress and well-being of all. In such a society material well-being will not be an end in itself. It will be looked upon as a pre-condition, an essential pre-condition, for providing equal opportunities for all to fulfil themselves and to place themselves and society on the path of moral and spiritual progress.

It is clear that such a fundamental social revolution touching all aspects of life, including the economic and the political, cannot be achieved by a mere re-organization of the economic or political structure of society. It involves a much more fundamental revolution, a revolution in the very outlook and habits of men, a transformation in values, in the goals that urge society and individuals to strive and achieve. Such a radical revolution can be achieved only through a patient and ceaseless process of positive education. But it is true that this process can be accelerated, and the chances of its success increased, by removing the obstacles that exist in our society for the realization of these ideals, by reorganizing and re-orienting the very basis of our economic

and political institutions and relationships. This part of the plan, therefore, will be an attempt to indicate briefly the changes that have to be brought about in the economic and political structure of society, and to state the immediate objectives of such changes.

These objectives are :—

1. To provide full and integral employment to every member of society. The entire economic structure of society, including the yoking of sceince and technology to the processes of production, the principles governing the appropriation and distribution of the wealth produced, etc. will, therefore, have to be re-oriented to fulfil this objective. Every adult must be willing to work, and free to choose his vocation. Work is not only a means of livelihood, a contribution to the social processes of producing the wherewithal to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of society, but also a duty that birth, the natural talents and accomplishments of a man and the training that he receives consciously and unconsciously impose upon him. Work is the essential medium through which man fulfils himself, develops and integrates his personality, and replenishes and enriches the social pool from which he draws his material, cultural and spiritual sustenance. Society must enable him to obtain the material requisites of well-being. It must provide him with facilities to acquire skill in the vocation he chooses, and to acquire the tools and instruments of production necessary for the calling of his choice, provided the work that he chooses is not injurious to the interests of society, and is accepted as a socially useful occupation by the community at large. Society must create the conditions necessary to ensure that every individual is able to choose an occupation which not only gives him enough to meet his material requirements, but also enables him to contribute his maximum to the all-round welfare of the community by giving full scope for his talents, training and aptitudes. Such work, therefore, will not be work that reduces man to a cog in the wheels of machinery and robs him of the opportunity to experience the joy of creation.

It will be work that enables him to integrate his talents and to feel the joy of creative labour in the service of the common good.

Such work which provides integral employment to the individual cannot be restricted to the robot-like repetition of a highly specialized mechanical process, but has to be organically related to , and where this is not possible, supplemented by active participation in operations or activities that enable man to come in touch with and contribute to the processes of life and growth in nature. This will enable him to realize that work is not merely a means of livelihood, that the metabolism of production is not merely an appropriation from nature, but an unravelling and aiding of the processes of nature to preserve and enrich life itself. Agriculture is perhaps the field in which man comes into most intimate contact with the phenomenon of perennial life and growth in nature. Ideally, therefore, participation in agricultural operations, even to the symbolic extent that the limitations of the vocation one chooses permit, is the surest means of enabling man to realize the nature and significance of his work.

It is clear that full and integral employment of the kind referred to in the preceding paragraphs cannot be provided by a plan that starts by fixing targets of industrial output and proceeds to outline production programmes to reach these targets. It will have to lay primary emphasis on providing employment, full and integral, and insist that the industrial structure must be refashioned to provide full employment and to increase the efficiency and output of industries that can maximize employment. This fundamental difference between the two approaches is bound to have its repercussions in every aspect and sector of the plans. One plan will naturally emphasize the need for an increase in the volume of output and the necessity to achieve it through rapid and, if necessary, even indiscriminate industrialization, will be capital-intensive, and will insist that the industries that are chosen for expansion are such as facilitate and accelerate "capital formation". Any enlargement of employment that such a plan will

achieve is bound to be more incidental than purposive. It is bound to be inadequate. At best, the increase in the opportunities for employment will be insufficient; and at worst, the plan may thoroughly fail to cope with the problem of providing employment for the increasing population, and will only leave the unemployed to live on doles, or to find their own feet as recepients of fitful wages in a heavily industrialized system that depends more on the machine than on man. The benefits of such a plan are, therefore, apt to be confined to the realm of illusory averages.

The other kind of plan which will make the provision of full and integral employment its first and foremost objective will necessarily be labour-intensive, and will concentrate on providing employment to, and increasing the standards of living of, the poorest sections of the population that are unemployed or under-employed today. It will plan for re-organizing industry with these objectives and increasing the technical and mechanical efficiency of industries that can maximize employment. The benefits of such a plan will thus be evident in the lives of those who are on the lowest rung of the ladder today.

Since a Sarvodaya social order has to be based on decentralization and has no place for the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of producton in the hands of the rich, the powerful or the technically ingenuous, full employment in a Sarvodaya society will necessarily have to be, for the most part, self-employment. In a sense, then, the word 'employment' itself becomes a misnomer, since there is no one who employs another. For the distinction between the employer and the employee is a consequence of the worker losing the ownership of the instrument of production that he uses. The anomaly of one man owning and not working, and another man working but not owning, will then disappear in a Sarvodaya society. The worker himself will own his tools, and be free to dispose of his produce through socially accepted channels. The means of production will be such as enable him to employ his talents, labour and time for producing articles of social value. He will, therefore, be his

own employer. In other words, the employer-employee relationship which is the root of injustice in a capitalist society, and of enslavement in a totalitarian order in which the State owns all industry and instruments of production, will cease to exist in a Sarvodaya economic order.

Where the industry is such that the tools and implements it uses are incapable of being owned or operated by an individual, they will be owned and worked by co-operatives, by the village community or by the State. The effort, however, will be to widen the area of self-employment. The pattern of full employment in a Sarvodaya society will, therefore, be overwhelmingly one of self-employment, and in industries where this is economically and technically impossible, one of co-operative, social or mutual employment. It is also clear that such full and integral employment cannot be provided except on the basis of a decentralized system of production that makes use of technological advancement to increase efficiency and to release man from avoidable mechanical drudgery.

2. To ensure that every member of society receives an optimum of the material requisites of well-being essential for the development of his personality and for enabling him to make his creative contribution to the welfare of society. It has been stated earlier that Sarvodaya does not regard the maximization of material comforts as the main or the only criterion of social progress. It does not believe in increasing productivity for the sake of producing more, capturing markets and increasing profits. It does not believe in limitless multiplication of wants, making man increasingly dependent on the mercy of industrial barons or an omnipotent State. But no economic system which ignores the necessity to produce enough to guaranteet he basic requirements of the society it seeks to serve can hope to ensure peace, stability, justice, equality and non-violence. Inadequate production, especially of the essential requisites of existence, is a direct invitation to inequality, mal-distribution, injustice, insecurity and social upheavals. A Sarvodaya economic order will, therefore, have to ensure that enough of the essentials of existence are produced

to provide a basic standard for all. Instruments of production will have to be improved, and the processes of production will have to be so organized as to ensure the production of this basic minimum. It has been computed on the basis of the conditions and habits obtaining in India (cf. Building from Below—Khadi Board Publication) that the basic annual family requirements in food, clothing, housing, health, education and recreation will need a money income of about Rs. 3,000/- at the price level that obtained in 1955. This is expected to enable every family to obtain the following :—

ANNUAL FAMILY REQUIREMENTS

Items	Daily Needs	Assumed Value	Total Rs.
A. Food			
1. Cereals	80 ozs.	Rs. 300 0 0	
2. Pulses	20 ,,	Rs. 50 0 0	
3. Milk	60 ,,	Rs. 180 0 0	
4. Vegetables (green and non-leafy)	40 ,,	Rs. 200 0 0	
5. Oils and fats	12 ,,	Rs. 350 0 0	
6. Fish, meat and egg or their vegetable alternatives.	20 ,,	Rs. 450 0 0	
7. Fruits and nuts	30 ,,	Rs. 150 0 0	
8. Sugar and gur	20 ,,	Rs. 100 0 0	
9. Spices	— ,,	Rs. 20 0 0	
			1800 0 0
B. Clothing and other wear		Rs. 250 0 0	
C. Repair and maintenance of houses and buildings		Rs. 175 0 0	
D. Health and medicine		Rs. 175 0 0	
E. Old age insurance		Rs. 100 0 0	
F. Education, books etc.		Rs. 200 0 0	
G. Entertainment, recreation and miscellaneous		Rs. 300 0 0	
			1200 0 0
			Rs. 3000 0 0

This may be regarded as the basic minimum that a plan should attempt to provide within a reasonable period of time, and sufficient goods and services should be produced to guarantee the content of this income. This may be regarded as the basic minimum that we should attempt to achieve within a reasonable period of time. But the gulf between the average family income that obtains today and this basic minimum is too wide to be bridged in a short span of time either through heavy industrialization or through the estabishment of a decentralized economic order. Nevertheless any plan for the betterment of the living conditions of the large majority of our population will have to plan to reach this basic minimum within a reasonable period of time. A time schedule will have to be fixed up for achieving this target, and the progress will have to be phased after giving due consideration to the resources that we can draw upon in the different stages of the plan. The tremendous advance that the achievement of this basic minimum would mean on the present can be seen from the fact that the average annual income of a family in India today is only Rs. 1320/-. There are only about 59.2 lakhs of families in India receiving an annual income of more than Rs. 3,600/-. This is only 7.4 per cent of the total population. The plan will, therefore, attempt to produce enough goods and services and distribute enough purchasing power to see that 92.6 per cent of the population are brought up to the level that 7.4 per cent enjoy today. The significance of this will become even clearer when the illusory nature of mathematical averages is borne in mind.* The following figures computed on the basis of the National Sample Survey (Second Round) give ample weight to the arguments that the progress that averages register hardly percolates to the poor, and that any plan that seeks to achieve a real betterment of their standards of living

* Quoted from 'Building From Below' published by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Bombay.

will have to concentrate on the 92.6 per cent of our population that today is below the income level of Rs. 3600/- per annum.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

Annual expenditure Rs.				Families (in Lakhs)	Percent of the total
Upto 600				163.2	20.4
Between	600	and	1200	249.6	31.2
,,	1200	,,	1800	168.8	21.1
,,	1800	,,	2400	83.2	10.4
,,	2400	,,	3600	76.2	9.5
Over 3600				59.2	7.4
				800.2	100.0

3. To foster regional self-sufficiency in the elementary requisites of existence. A Sarvodaya plan should aim at maximizing self-sufficiency in the elementary needs of man in every village and region, to the extent that considerations of geography and the limitations imposed by the availability of natural resources permit. Self-sufficiency will be the goal in essentials like food, clothing and other elementary needs. The voluntary limitations that a region wants to place on its dependence on other areas will be quite different from the self-sufficiency that the plan itself seeks to create. The self-sufficiency that the plan will try to foster will not be the self-sufficiency of water-tight compartments in which people are forced to resign themselves to primitive standards of living in the name of self-sufficiency. In many material goods and services other than the elementary needs of existence, as also in intellectual and cultural intercourse, there will be healthy inter-dependence between villages and regions. This interdependence between equals will be based on the urges of love, service and co-operation. What will be sought to be eliminated will be the kind of inter-dependence that gives room to idleness and exploitation.

Where irremediable deficiencies in natural resources do not prevent the possibility of achieving self-sufficiency in essentials, the attempt will have to be to attain self-sufficiency in food, clothing, shelter, elementary education and medical attention for minor ailments. Where nature does not permit this, the attempt will be to group deficient villages together in combinations that permit the deficiencies to be removed by mutual co-operation, pooling of resources and exchange. Where this too is not within the range of possibility, the village or the area may have to lay emphasis on the maximum utilization of its natural resources in the hope of making up its deficiencies through integration with the over-all plan for the region through emphasis on other village industries that can be organized in the area.

The ideal of self-sufficiency in the essential requisites of life does not, as has been stated above, visualize the creation of hermetically sealed geographical areas. Self-sufficient units will be inter-dependent in a variety of things which do not pertain to the basic needs of existence. But continued dependence on other areas for the essential requirements of existence may, even as in the case of individual human beings, sap self-respect and undermine the dignity of the communities inhabiting the dependent areas. It may also lead to the dependent areas, especially when the dependence is on essential commodities, becoming victims of discrimination or exploitation by those on whom they depend. Inter-dependence can be healthy and profitable only when it is between units or areas that are self-dependent in the essentials of existence.

4. To ensure that techniques and instruments of production are not such as seek to increase material well-being by adopting a predatory and vandalistic attitude to nature, but are such as to instil reverence for life and keep the needs of the whole of humanity including posterity in mind. The apparent but dubious advantages of the moment should not be allowed to override

permanent values. Techniques and modes of production that exhaust and destroy irreplaceable natural resources will, therefore, have to be recognized as such, and their use will have to be justified by considerations of lasting and universal advantage. The overall needs of humanity and the cultural values that man has evolved through the ages should jointly determine the techniques and modes of production. The utilization of natural resources should go hand in hand with efforts to replenish whatever is utilized, to the extent that, and in cases where, this can be done by man.

Man will thus consider it his duty to protect and provide for all life that revolves round him and his social, economic and cultural pursuits.

If these are the objectives of the plan, the processes of formulation and implementation will also have to be in tune with the basic principles underlying the plan. The plan seeks to provide full employment and re-organize industry to maximize self-employment. It seeks to raise the standard of living to a minimum basic level, and to ensure that this does not end up in the illusion of a mathematical average, but is verifiably evident in the lives of 92.6 per cent of the families in our country. It seeks to utilize the resources available in every locality, in nature and man, and to increase self-sufficieney and supplement it with the co-operaion of self-depending equals. All these mean the conscious and voluntary co-operation of people in every locality, even in every family, at every stage in the formulation and implementation of the plan. Such a plan, therefore, cannot be formulated by a few technicians at the national headquarters and implemented merely on the strength and efficiency of govenmental agencies. It cannot hope to achieve a tangible improvement in the standard of living of millions of families by fixing targets of industrial production and seeking the most efficient technological means for reaching the targets, without concerning itself with the need to provide full and integral employment of the kind

referred to in the above sections. It will, therefore, have to depend primarily on the enthusiastic and conscious activity of the people in the villages. It cannot content itself with public participation. It has to be formulated by the people, implemented by the people. This means that the people of every village will have to be educated on the need for a plan and on the principles that should govern a plan for the establishment of a Sarvodaya social order. They should be supplied with the know-how of planning, and helped in formulating and implementing a plan for the economic and over-all development of their villages. No other method can be consistent with the principles of decentralization and self-sufficiency.

Such an on-the-spot formulation of the plan by those who feel the pinch of the present and are fully and painfully conscious of requirements, by persons who are thoroughly informed about the avilable natural resources and the resources in man power, by those who are to implement the plan and measure its success at every step, by the improvements that they are able to see in their own lives and the life of the village, will make planning thoroughly democratic and real. The plan will not, therefore, be one that treats the people as onlookers at the stage of formulation, and seeks participation at the stage of implementation. It will, on the other hand, educate them to regard the formulation and fulfilment of the plan as a responsibility of their own.

As has been stated earlier, the emphasis in the plan will be on raising the income of every family to about Rs. 3000/- per year. There are 163.2 lakhs of families with annual incomes below Rs. 600/-, 249 lakhs with incomes between Rs. 600/- and Rs. 1200/-, 168.8 lakhs with incomes between Rs. 1200/- and Rs. 1800/-, 83.2 lakhs with incomes between Rs. 1800 and Rs. 2400/-, and 76.2 lakhs with incomes between Rs. 2600/- and Rs. 3600/-. The plan will, therefore, have to concentrate its attention on those of the lowest income-group, and, within a specified period, try to raise them to a higher level. The

emphasis in the early part of the plan, therefore, will be on families with incomes below Rs. 600/- and when all families have been raised to this minimum, the plan will attempt to raise their annual income to a higher target, thus progressively, within a practicable and reasonable period of time, reaching the target of Rs. 3,000 which has been computed as the minimum annual requirement necessary for a basic standard of living. This does not mean that the plan will close its eyes to the necessities of families whose incomes are higher than the target set for achievement in the early stages of the plan. In fact, the real income of the families below the income level of Rs. 600/- cannot be increased unless there is increased production. Every effort consistent with the principles laid down in this plan will, therefore, be made to increase production and to see that the increased quota of commodities necessary to achieve this rise in the real income of the families of the lowest income group, is produced. Production thus will increase side by side with employment, and, will be integrated with the needs of equitable distribution.

It should be clear from what has been stated above that a Sarvodaya Plan that seeks to provide full employment and reorganize the industrial system on the basis of decentralization, will have to be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive.

If the plan is also to be formulated and implemented by the people themselves, it is evident that the basic unit of the plan will have to be a compact geographical area. It has to be formulated on the basis of a fully informed estimate of local resources and requirements. The basic unit of the plan will, therefore, be the village. The plan will be prepared and implemented by the village community with the help of such technical skill and knowledge as it may require from outside. It will attempt to provide full employment and to raise the level of family incomes to a minimum of Rs. 3000/- per year. The limitations that natural resources may impose on the programmes of production that can

be undertaken in the village and the necessity to integrate the plans of the villages in a region and of regions within the country, and to see that production is undertaken to satisfy the requirements of the nation in all the commodities that are necessary, etc., have already been referred to, in an earlier section. There will, therefore, be need for regional and sub-regional councils as well as for a national council to collate the plans formulated by village communities and to prevent waste. It will be the responsibility of such supra-unit agencies to see that no unit is forced to be in want because of the lack of natural resources or man-power, and that, if the deficiencies in natural resources are such as can be removed by human effort, they are removed. National and regional agencies will thus see that backwardness does not become a reason for continuously lagging behind.

The following sections are meant to indicate the lines on which village communities and regional planning councils may formulate their plans and also to show the progressive and immediate changes that are necessary in economic, political and social institutions and relationships to remove the impediments that stand in the way of the establishment of an equalitarian, non-exploitative and decentralized economic and political order today.

II. AGRICULTURE

LAND OWNERSHIP

Land and natural resources are the most important factors of production. Of all the basic needs of man, there is nothing more fundamental than food. Land provides food for all, and employment for millions, who have to labour on land so that all may have enough to eat. Industry depends on the minerals and resources that nature provides, and on the labour and ingenuity of human beings who depend on land for their existence. The

way in which land and the resources of nature are utilized to produce food, clothing and shelter, and the system of rights that govern this utilization, therefore, become all-important factors determining the justice and equality to be found in a social order. There can be no justice,—nor even can the natural resources of the community be fully utilized for the benefit of all, if the ownership of this primary factor of production which yields the where-withal to satisfy the most fundamental requisite of existence is concentrated in the hands of a few who own and earn on the basis of no title but their ownership, while millions who have to labour are denied the opportunity to work or the full fruits of their labour. Private property in land and natural resources can, therefore, have no place in a social order that seeks to establish equality and justice.

It has already been stated that the main pattern of employment in a Sarvodaya social order will be self-employment and that the ownership of the instruments of production will not be concentrated in the hands of a few to give room for exploitation. Land must, therefore, cease to be regarded as property that individuals can own, buy and sell. It is a natural asset that has to be husbanded and utilized by the community to produce food for all, and should, therefore, vest in the village community as a trust.

This does not, however, mean that the geographical boundaries of villages will remain as they are and the communities living in them today become the trustees of the land within their respective areas. Many of our villages have grown up haphazardly and can hardly function as efficient economic units. It may, therefore, be necessary to integrate, expand and re-demarcate our villages to ensure that they become more efficient and compact socio-economic units. This will, no doubt, involve a planned process of re-settlement, including voluntary migrations from one village to another.

Everyone who wants to produce food for himself and his family or to participate in the work of producing sufficient food

for the community must, therefore, have a right to work on land. The village community will see that every villager who expresses his desire to work on land is allotted a plot of land to work on. He will hold the land for the community, work on it and enjoy the fruits of his labour on it. But his title to the plot will be that of a holder who can neither sell nor transfer it, nor bequeath to his successors without the sanction of the village community. While he lives and works on the land allotted to him, he will, for all practical purposes, be the owner of the plot, though the legal ownership will vest in the community. If any of his successors wants to take to farming and approaches the village community for permission to continue to work on the land of his predecessors, the community will permit him to do so unless it has sufficient reasons to withhold the allotment.

The village community will survey and take stock of the land within the area of the village, and, after setting apart common lands for grazing, afforestation and the preservation and planting of trees for fire-wood and for medicinal purposes as well as for other purposes of common concern to the community, equitably distribute the cultivable land among the members of the community who express their desire to work on land. The community will have to review the allotments periodically and re-distribute land every few years to ensure justice to the allottees, as also to meet the claims of the fluctuating number of persons who may desire to work on land. This system of periodical re-distribution is not new to our country. It has been in vogue in many other countries as well. Periodical re-distribution will be necessary, since the number of people who want to work on land may vary with changes in the size of the population, the growth of industries providing alternative and supplementry employment and the reclamation of new lands.

MINERAL RESOURCES

Mines and mineral resources will also cease to be private property. But they cannot be efficiently tapped or utilized for

the maximum advantage of society if the responsibility for exploiting them vests in small village communities. They will, therefore, vest in larger regional communities, and will be managed by the regional or central administrations.

METHOD OF FARMING

Agricultural operations will be conducted on a co-operative basis wherever such co-operation is possible or willingly acceeded to. There will be no collectivization, and no compulsion, even of an indirect or subtle kind, will be brought to bear on cultivators to force them to join co-operatives. Even today many agricultural operations are undertaken with the co-operaion of fellow-cultivators in the locality. The village community will foster and channelize such co-operation, and will provide the institutional framework as well as the technical skill and other facilities that can make co-operation attractive and really advantageous to the tiller. The co-operative will help every tiller in securing better implements, bullocks, seeds and manures, in fighting pests, and in disposing of produce.

Implements and bullocks may be owned by the individual. Tilling operations will either be carried on by the individual himself with such help as he can muster from the members of his family and fellow-cultivators or, if he chooses to join a co-operative or joint farm, jointly.

Wherever it is considered desirable and possible, and wherever a large number of tillers themselves feel that all agricultural operations including tilling should be undertaken on a co-operative basis, joint farms or co-operative farms may be established. But there will be no attempt to compel tillers to join co-operatives even if the majority of the tillers in the area prefer joint-farming. On the other hand, tillers who do not want to join co-operative farms will be left free to till their own plots and provided with all the other facilities that the co-operatives can offer.

Even in joint farms and co-operatives, the tillers who decide to pool their plots, equipments and other resources and establish co-operative farms will take ample care to see that the organization of the farm is not such as "de-personalizes" the processes of production and creates classes of managers and wage-earners.

When new land is reclaimed and brought under the plough the village community will either decide to increase the area of land allotted to each individual or undertake the cultivation of the plot directly.

INTENSIVE FARMING

In a densely populated country like India, the yield per acre has to be high if agricultural production is to keep pace with the increase in population. Such a high degree of productivity can be obtained and maintained only by adopting the systems of 'intensive' and 'mixed farming'. Giant farms and a highly mechanized system of cultivation cannot solve our problems. To avoid the wastage of man-power and natural resources that is incidental to mechanized farming and to increase the yield per acre as well as the efficiency of agricultural operations, it will, therefore, be necessary to resort to intensive farming. Improved techniques and tools as well as better manures and seeds will be utilized. The system of mixed-farming and the planned rotation of food and fodder crops that many countries in Western Europe and large areas of Eastern United States have adopted, can increase the fertility of our soil, improve the yield per acre and provide rich food for our cattle.

Machines may be used to increase the efficiency of agricultural operations and to do away with avoidable drudgery. But no machine that leads to centralization or minimizes the possibility of providing full employment or gives room for exploitation or impairs the quality of this soil or reduces the agricultural worker to the position of a wage-earner, will be used by the village community. Machines that help to save labour for all without

throwing any labourer out of employment, machines that can be manufactured or easily obtained and repaired in the region, and machines that can be operated by the tiller himself or through the co-operatives will be made use of to improve the efficiency and productivity of farming. Such machines will not rob the worker of his freedom, nor expose him to exploitation nor make him or the region unhealthily dependent on others.

LAND MANAGEMENT AND UTILIZATION

The village community will be responsible for the overall management of the land and agricultural operations within the area of the village. It will thus be responsible for allotting land periodically, maintaining a register of the allottees and the land allotted to them, laying down conditions under which the tiller may work on his land, maintaining, manuring and improving the land in its area, preventing soil erosion, promoting afforestation etc. The village community will formulate development programmes for the proper utilization of the agricultural resources of the community, fix targets of production and supervise the implementation of production progammes.

It will formulate an overall crop plan taking into consideration the needs of the village in the various agricultural commodities that have to be produced, the limitations imposed by the availability of natural resources and the need to ensure a balanced diet and to maximize self-sufficiency in food and clothing.

Primary emphasis will thus be placed on the need to produce food and clothing. If the village is rich enough in natural resources, to achieve self-sufficiency in these two and to produce a surplus that can be utilized to satisfy the requirements of deficit areas in the region, the community may decide to utilize the remaining portion of its land for growing what are today called commercial crops, provided these are not injurious to health.

In the period of transition, the village community and the regional authorities will have to concert appropriate measures to

ensure that the cultivation of money crops does not become more attractive than that of crops for local consumption.

In villages where the soil is such as cannot be utilized for the production of food crops but can be advantageously utilized for growing other crops, as also in areas where the social cost of cultivating one kind of crop is forbiddingly high, the community may decide to concentrate on producing crops for exchange, making the best economic utilization of the resources available in the locality. The village community will thus have to find the balance between these considerations in formulating its overall crop scheme.

All farming in the village—individual, joint and co-operative—will conform to the crop scheme formulated by the village community. One of the conditions on which land will be allotted to individual farmers will be that, even if the cultivator decides to carry on agricultural operations individually without joining a co-operative or joint farm, he will conform to the crop scheme formulated by the community. The community will have the right to take back the land allotted to the individual if he fails to utilize the land, or utilizes it in a manner that is not consistent with the overall crop plan or the conditions laid down by the community for the maintenance and improvement of land. Regional agencies for the integration of village plans will ensure that villages with adequate natural resources are encouraged to produce a sufficiently large surplus that can be utilized to meet the needs of the cities and the deficit areas in the region.

SIZE OF HOLDINGS

The size of holdings cannot be arbitrarily laid down by an over-all planning authority or even by the agencies that integrate the plans of the different regions. The village community will take into consideration the acreage of land available in its area and the number of persons who desire to work on land, and allot

the maximum that can be allotted to each individual, after setting apart whatever area it considers necessary for the common purposes of the village. The size of holdings may thus vary from village to village, and with each periodical allotment.

There need be no fear that the smallness of the size of holdings, where the area of land available for allotment is limited and the number of people seeking to work on land is large will adversely affect the economic efficiency of agricultural operations or provide cultivators with an inadequate means of livelihood. As has already been stated in an earlier section, plots of moderate size are better suited to our conditions than are giant farms. Moreover, tillers will be encouraged to resort to intensive methods of farming and to utilize improved implements, manure and seeds. Mixed farming and co-operation too will be of help in ensuring that the land is made to yield its maximum. Nor is it expected that cultivators will be purely dependent on the yield from land. The plan envisages a radical reorganization of rural economy which will take care to see that a host of agronomic and other industries are developed to provide subsidiary occupations and supplementary sources of income to cultivators and their families. The varying size of holdings will not, therefore, affect the standard of living of the cultivators adversely.

TRANSITION

All this involves a radical revision of the very conception of land tenure and private property in land. Land does not today belong to the village community. It is owned by individuals who have either inherited or bought up titles from those who were willing to sell. Many of those who own land today take little or no part in agricultural operations and look upon land merely as a source of idle income.

The systems of land tenure obtaining in the different States of our country vary. It is true that efforts have been made, and

are being made, in many States to do away with intermediaries and to abolish absentee landlordism. Some States have enacted legislation to abolish zamindaris and to fix ceilings on holdings. But all this has not touched the core of the problem. It is clear that land cannot be rescued from private ownership and vested in the village community without a radical revolution in the minds of men. The desire to own land and regard it as private property is not confined to the rich alone. If, therefore, the aim is not only to eliminate absentee landlordism and rationalize the size of holdings, but to abolish all private property in land, this cannot be achieved without a revolution in the minds of men. Such a revolution cannot be brought about by the compulsive processes of law or the violent methods that have been adopted by dictatorships that have sought to collectivize land. The disastrous consequences of the latter are too well-known to need description. The dogged resistance of the peasantry made it impossible for the State to enforce collectivization without resorting to mass murders and causing endless misery to millions of small holders. The economic system itself broke down completely and had to be bolstered up by periodic retreats and zigzags that were meant to dilute theory and soft-pedal enforcement.

Legislation too has its own limitations. It can confer legality on an institution, by transcribing the accepted notions of the vast majority into the pages of the Statute Book. But if it is used to give legal sanction to an idea that has not received the acceptance or acquiescence of a sufficiently large number of people, it may be rendered nugatory by active non-co-operation or opposition, or may lead to a state of affairs in which authority has to fall back upon force and use quasi-dictatorial methods to secure conformity to the law. The key to social change, therefore, lies in changing the attitudes and notions of the vast majority of men in a society. This can be done most effectively and lastingly only by the methods of Satyagraha, i.e., persuasion and non-co-operation.

The Bhoodan movement, especially Gramdan, is an attempt to make use of these methods to achieve a universal and lasting revolution in the conception of all private property, especially property in land. When the momentum of the movement increases and large numbers of social revolutionaries take active part in it, the deep-rooted belief in private property in land will be progressively undermined, and peoples' minds will be ready to accept the idea that land in fact belongs to the community.

Wherever it is possible to persuade all the landowners of the village to accept this ideal (Gramdan), efforts can and should be made to refashion the entire economic and social life of the village on the basis of this revolution in the conception of private property.

The acceptance of the idea by a substantial number of individual owners in villages is bound to create a momentum of its own and accelerate the process of the social acceptance of the idea of common ownership in land. Those who believe that private property in land is incompatible with social justice will give up their proprietory rights to the community.

Meanwhile, it will be open to those who believe that private property in land should be abolished through the gradual processes of legislation, to enact laws that reflect the optimum advance that has been achieved. Thus the elimination of zamindari and absentee landlordism, the elimination of intermediaries, the fixation of a ceiling for agricultural holdings, legislation to prevent those who do not directly participate in agricultural operations from holding land and subletting it (with exceptions in the cases of widows, minors and disabled persons), may all be taken up as progressive steps towards abolishing private property in land and vesting land in the village community.

While these reforms are on the anvil, if there is to be delay in giving immediate effect to them, protective tenancy should be granted to those who have been cultivating land for a specified

period of years, and eviction should be stopped except where the landowner himself wants to resort to personal cultivation. This may be followed by other measures to re-distribute land, and to abolish exploitative private property in land,as the first step towards the abolition of all property in land. The fixation of a ceiling for agricultural holdings may thus be a necessary step from the point of view of those who want to achieve the villagization of land through legislation. It must, however, be borne in mind that if the ceiling fixed for holdings is unjustifiably high, thd fixation of ceilings may not only not help the process of re-distribution, but may constitute a handicap. The area of land that can be tilled with the help of the animals and with implements generally used in the area should, therefore, be fixed as the ceiling. The actual acreage of land that would constitute the ceiling will thus have to be determined after taking into consideration the nature of the land and the condition of agriculture in each area.

But it must be understood that the mere enforcement of a ceiling will neither do away with the sense of private ownership in land nor even release enough land for allotment to those who want to work on land. Nor can the fixation of a minimum size for holdings help in providing enough land for the landless. A flooring of this kind may prevent fragmentation, and help to integrate holdings. But it is clear that it will not release more land for distribution among the landless who desire to work on land. Thus, even if it is granted that the abolition of exploitative private property in land is the first step towards the villagization of land and that the enactment of legal restrictions that prevent the holding of land except for personal cultivation will go a long way towards this, other measures will have to be taken to obtain enough land for distribution to the landless. A policy of procurement has, therefore, to precede or go hand in hand with the fixation of a ceiling or the guaranteeing of a flooring, if land is to be made available for all. This procurement may be on the basis of a steeply graded levy (as in the case of income tax), and

the quota of land that may fall due from each group of holders may be acquired even before the enforcement of the law on ceilings.

When land is acquired through such a levy, and the rights of intermediaries abolished, when personal cultivation becomes a condition for holding land, some of those who hold land today may either lose their source of income or find that much of their income has been taken away. Those whose holdings are not bigger than what may be fixed as the ceiling will not lose any land unless they find it impossible to take to tilling, or directly participate in agricultural operations. The number of holders who will lose land in this process of procurement will, therefore, be few. Yet some kind of compensation, in the shape of a rehabilitation allowance, and not a sum of money equivalent or nearly equivalent to the value of the land taken away, may have to be paid to those from whom land is acquired. This may be either in the form of alternative employment or of a rehabilitation allowance ranging from the minimum family income that has been laid down as the target of the plan and the maximum family income referred to in a later section. The nature and amount of the rehabilitation allowance that will have to be paid to each individual will, therefore, have to be decided on the merits of each case.

Wherever land thus acquired is to be re-distributed, the work of re-distribution should be entrusted to the village community.

FORESTS

In order to prevent soil erosion and to safeguard rainfall, it is essential that nearly 33 per cent of the total land area of the country is kept under forests.

Nor can these purposes be served if this 33 percent consists of contiguous belts of forests concentrated in a few provinces while there is no effort to prevent de-forestation and the invasion of the desert in other regions. It is, therefore, necessary to ensure that an

adequate acreage of forests is maintained in every region through effective measures for conservation, and by the creation of new forests through afforestation.

Though the need for conserving forests has been accepted for long, considerations of immediate gain have often weighed with those responsible for directing forest policy. Much damage has already been done to our forest-wealth by the intrusion of the profit motive, and mountainous regions have been steadily deforested, and valuable timber has been exported, or worse still, consumed as domestic fuel. Efforts to afforest and conserve have not been so conspicuous as efforts to exploit, colonize and utilize the forests as a source of immediate revenue. The attempt to reclaim jungles for agricultural purposes and for colonization has also led, in many cases, to an unplanned destruction of the forest-wealth of the country. The indiscriminate destruction of forests has thus aggravated the problem of soil erosion.

In order to prevent the indiscriminate destruction of our forests and to prevent the consequent soil erosion, the regional authorities will have to formulate a long range policy of conservation and afforestation. These regional plans must be integrated with a sound national policy for the preservation and utilization of the forest-wealth of the country.

Every village will attempt to set apart a plot of land for planting and preserving trees that may meet the local requirements for fire-wood. To this will be attached a herbarium in which medicinal plants will be grown.

SOIL CONSERVATION

Since the ownership of all land will vest in the community, it will be the responsibility of the village community to supervise the maintenance of land and to take steps to prevent erosion and

promote soil conservation. The village community will avail of the technical knolwedge and the skill of experts to concert measures for improving the quality of the soil in its area. Bunding, levelling, terracing, local afforestation, etc., will be undertaken to prevent erosion, and better manures and a planned scheme for the rotation of crops will be introduced to improve the quality of the soil.

Agricultural experts can do much to mitigate the evils of soil erosion and to improve the fertility of the soil. It will be the responsibility of agricultural research centres to formulate steps in this regard, to supply experts and technicians and to educate the rural population in the arts of conserving and improving soil. The village community will see that individual holders do nothing to reduce the fertility of the soil or to lead to erosion.

HORTICULTURE

One of the objectives of the crop plan that the village community formulates will be to ensure that the requirements of a balanced diet are produced in the village itself. Thus, in addition to foodgrains and milk, an adequate quantity and variety of vegetables and fruits will also have to be produced in the village. Every family will be encouraged to take to horticulture, and will be provided with a plot of land in which it will be encouraged to grow vegetables, fruit trees and tree cotton. When the boundaries of villages are re-adjusted and the population is re-settled on a planned basis, it may be possible to provide each house with an adjacent plot of land that may be used as a kitchen garden.

The village community may set apart some of the common land for fruit culture and may run orchards and vegetable gardens to augment the produce of the domestic kitchen gardens and to meet the requirements of the towns and deficit areas in the region.

IRRIGATION

Any plan that seeks to increase the area of the land under cultivation, and to maximize the yield per acre has necessarily to provide facilities for irrigation. Of the total area of land under cultivation today, (327.8 million acres—including current fallows) extensive stretches depend on unreliable and fitful means of irrigation. Very little has been done to conserve and channelize rain water, to tap sub-soil sources and to ensure that the benefits of the water-wealth of the nation are made available to the largest possible number of cultivators. As recently as 1952 the total area of land benefitting from major and minor works of irrigation was only about 51,466,000 acres. Of these, 18,530,000 acres were irrigated by State canals, 2,671,000 by private canals, 8,626,000 by tanks, 15,747,000 by wells and 5,650,000 by other sources. The rest, 270.4 million acres, depend primariliy on rain. It is true that plans are being made to extend the area of the land under irrigation, but a much more ambitious and scientific scheme for the utilization of the water resources of our country is a *sine qua non* of the rehabilitation of our agriculture. It is impossible to expect that this can be done through a few gigantic multi-purpose installations alone. The potential resources of the main river systems of the country must be surveyed, and a net work of canals, that can irrigate as also provide a cheap means of transport to the villages in the hinterland, must, therefore, be built up in the basins of our large rivers. Still, there will be many villages which fall outside the range of these river basins and canal systems, and, therefore, have to depend mainly on rain and sub-soil water. Tanks and wells will be the main source of irrigation in these areas. Existing tanks will have to be deepened and de-silted, and new wells will have to be dug, and bunds will have to be raised to store up rain water. The number of wells in our villages is inadequate even for providing pure drinking water to our rural population. Efforts will, therefore, have to be made to increase the number of wells, and to spot and tap

sub-soil water, through tube-wells, etc., to ensure that there is a well for every five acres of land.

It is clear that a problem of this magnitude cannot be tackled by individual effort. Most cultivators will find it impossible to irrigate their lands if they are left to find their own means of irrigation. This is, therefore, a problem which the village community and higher regional planning authorities will have to take up. Deepening and de-silting of tanks, increasing the number of wells, bunding etc., may be taken up by the village community. But regional planning bodies and the Centre will have to work out schemes for harnessing large rivers and building up canal systems in their basins.

Large scale projects of irrigation, involving the construction of dams, are most often linked with the generation of hydro-electric power. They thus become multipurpose projects aiming at providing both water and cheap electricity. It is certainly profitable to combine these two objectives. But if one of these advantages becomes too costly to be availed of by the poorest inhabitants of the area, and the other is only generated but not distributed in the locality, being intended for transmission to distant towns where people have the purchasing power to buy electricity, these large installations hardly succeed in serving the rural population. It is unfortunate that it is often believed that hydro-electric installations, to be economically efficient, should be linked up with large irrigational projects involving the construction of huge dams. It has been computed that a fall of about 25 ft. is sufficient to generate hydro-electricity that can serve the needs of a sizeable area surrounding it. A number of such plants generating hydro-electricity are functioning economically and efficiently in Japan. The benefits of hydro-electricity can reach our rural areas only if a planned effort to set up such plants is made in our country. Such plants can be erected with comparatively low investments of capital and will take away much of the economic and administrative burden that the Centre has

to beat. This will also make it possible for power to be generated on a decentralized basis, and therefore, increase the number of decentralized industries that can make use of electricity.

When land receives the benefits of irrigation, its yield will increase, and in a society in which the sale of land is permitted, its price too will go up. But even with all the increase in the irrigational facilities that the plan desires to achieve, it may not be possible to ensure that the benefits of irrigation are equally available to every cultivator. There may thus be plots which are comparatively less irrigated, and therefore, poorer in yield. If this unequal distribution of the benefits of irrigation is not to create considerable disparities in income, other measures will have to be taken by the village community to off-set the disadvantages of cultivators whose lands receive less of irrigation. When private ownership in land is abolished, and the village community periodically distributes land to those who want to till, this problem may be solved by allotting plots in the dry as well as the wet lands in the village to every cultivator. But there may be areas where this is impossible. In such areas the community will levy a cess on irrigated land and utilize the revenue from the cess to equalize advantages and to improve facilities in unirrigated lands.

In the period of transition, when land is still under private ownership, an irrigational cess may have to be levied to prevent the growth of large disparities in incomes.

CROP INSURANCE

The poor yield of many areas and the large scale failure of crops which has almost become a regular feature of our agricultural production are primarily due to factors that planned attention can change or control. When the possibility of erosion is reduced by afforestation, bunding, terracing etc., and when the fertility of the soil is improved by the scientific use of manures

and the availability of ample irrigational facilities, the productivity of land is bound to increase and the chances of crop failure will certainly be minimized. When turbulent rivers are harnessed and a net-work of canals provided for the useful channelization of flood waters, the danger from floods too will be greatly reduced. The village community will also take precautions against pests and weeds and other crop-destroying agents of nature. But inspite of all these measures, there can be no absolute guarantee against the failure of crops that the vagaries of nature may cause, especially in lands that depend on rain-water and in areas vulnerable to uncontrollable floods. It will, therefore, be necessary to have a system of crop insurance that will enable the community to tide over periods of low production or famines. To provide for these lean periods it is necessary for the village community to ensure that a stock of grain sufficient to meet the requirements of the population for a whole year is always maintained in the village grain bank. Tillers may be required to contribute their share to the stock of this grain bank since the bank will assure them against want and insecurity during famine years. The stocks of these rural grain banks may also be drawn upon by regional planning authorities to meet the requirements of a famine area that finds its own stocks insufficient either because of the persistence or the intensity of famine conditions.

In a society in which everyone produces for all, and is entitled to receive whatever he needs in return, the question of insuring the yield of each cultivator's farm does not arise. It has its own place in a society in which the cultivator depends entirely on the income that his produce brings in the market. But a society in which everyone works according to his capacity and receives according to his necessity may be a distant ideal, and in the period of transition to such a social order, it may be necessary, as long as individual cultivators earn their livelihood by marketing their produce, to have a scheme of crop insurance that will protect the cultivator's interests. Such crop insurance schemes will then be

formulated and managed by the multi-purpose co-operative society of the village, and tillers will have the option of paying their premia in kind.

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS AND RURAL CREDIT

One of the most important and difficult problems that any plan for the rehabilitation of Indian agriculture will have to grapple with is the problem of agricultural indebtedness and rural credit. Large numbers of our agriculturists have incurred or inherited debts that they can hardly hope to repay. Families go on paying exorbitant interest for generations, and still find that they are heavily indebted to usurers. These money lenders have made a fine art of usury, and have devised innumerable ways of extracting their "pound of flesh" and reducing helpless debtors to conditions of agrestic serfdom. Many cultivators live in the constant fear of losing their only means of livelihood as forfeited security. Unless these conditions are immediately and radically improved there can be no question of the rehabilitation of agriculture or the establishment of an equalitarian social order.

The village community will, therefore, have to review every case of indebtedness and decide whether the money borrowed should be repaid at all, and if it has to be repaid, the manner in which the repayment has to be made. It will scrutinize the purpose for which the debt was incurred, the amount of the loan, the interest charged, the amount repaid, the paying capacity of the debtor and the financial condition of the creditor, before deciding on the merits of each case. Where the balance of all these considerations warrants the freezing or writing off of debts, the village community will decide to do so. In most cases, debts will have to be drastically scaled down. In no case will interest be allowed to equal or exceed capital, and in instances, where the community is satisfied that the creditor has realized more

than his capital and a reasonable interest, it may ask the money-lender to repay the excess that he has deceitfully extorted from the 'debtor'.

Wherever private property in land is abolished, and the land is vested in the village community, the community may take over the debts of individual agriculturists. It may appeal to creditors to forgo their claims and regard outstanding loans as donations to the community (*Dan*). But wherever the creditor is unwilling to respond to the appeal of the community, it may agree to pay back the loan that it has taken over, and pay a re-habilitation allowance in cases that warrant its doing so. It may, in its turn, realize this money fully or partly from the cultivator whose debt it has taken over, if it finds that he is capable of meeting such a demand.

Even in villages where land has not been brought under common ownership, the community must have the right to scrutinize the merits of each case of indebtedness and decide whether the debt has to be frozen, scaled down or repaid. It will also decide the manner of repayment in cases where it decides that repayment is necessary.

The freezing or scaling down of debts will not, however, be such as to impair the financial stability of the erstwhile money-lender. In a Sarvodaya society the social order will be such as enables every adult to find employment and obtain the where-withals of life. Even in the period of transition, when freezing or scaling down of debts may be necessary, the community will provide alternative employment or grant a rehabilitation allowance to erstwhile money-lenders, if it finds that the non-payment of debts will make it impossible for them to find some other occupation on their own.

Although the burden on the peasantry may be eased considerably by freezing or scaling down all existing debts, it will not touch the core of the problem of rural indebtedness. New

debts will be incurred, or agricultural operations may be severely handicapped by the absence of credit facilities. The problem, therefore, is one of providing ample credit, without giving room for exploitation and usury. Small cultivators generally borrow either for raising the capital necessary for their agricultural operations, buying or hiring implements, bullocks, seeds etc. or for meeting expenses that have come to be regarded as customarily associated with marriages and deaths, and other occasions of rejoicing and mourning in the family. Social reformers will have to combat this wide-spread tendency to spend beyond one's means to conform to artificial and pompous standards. Since the same ties as subserve in the family today are expected to inform mutual relations in the village, the village community will have to take up the responsibility for setting up new standards and seeing that families are enabled to conform to them. The multi-purpose co-operative society of the village will have to provide credit facilities, both in kind and in money, to individual cultivators who need credit for the rehabilitation of their agriculture. These societies in their turn must be able to, where necessary, receive loans from the State Bank or from Regional Authorities on the security of the grain that each village community will hold as reserve stock for meeting the requirements for two years. Land will no longer be mortgaged, since the cultivator himself will not have the legal right to alienate his land.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

The earlier sections of the chapter show that the plan envisages a vast improvement in the modes and techniques of farming and a commensurate increase in agricultural production. It has also been pointed out that the number of people who till land may increase. The system of agricultural production visualized in the plan cannot, therefore, succeed unless concerted efforts are made to disseminate scientific knolwledge about intensive farming, the need for and the value of rotation of crops,

about the scientific manures and machines etc., and to provide improved implements and seeds to the cultivators throughout the length and breadth of the country. This cannot be done unless there is a net-work of agricultural research centres that keep in constant touch with cultivators in every village.

There are a few research centres and farms in the country today. But it cannot be said that the results of the research carried on in these centres have reached or benefitted the general mass of our cultivators. This can happen only if the number of research centres is increased and the entire direction of research re-oriented, to study and find solutions for the problems of the small cultivators in the different regions of our country. The main objective of agricultural research will, therefore, be to improve and perfect implements that can be used by cultivators who work on plots of moderate size, to help villages to preserve and improve the fertility of their soil, to develop varieties of seeds that suit the soil and climatic conditions of different areas, to discover, and disseminate knowledge, about natural and synthetic manures, etc.

In all these, it may be more beneficial for these research centres to study, and where necessary, adopt the results of the research as carried on in countries like Japan where holdings are small and farming is mainly intensive, because of the density of population and the scarcity of land. It is clear that the results of agricultural research carried on in countries like U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., where land is abundant and the number of cultivators proportionately few, will have only limited value in the conditions of our country. Our research centres will thus have to carry on extensive experiments and discover how the knowledge and experience that other countries have accumulated can be enlarged and yoked to the conditions and the needs of our country.

It cannot be said that our agricultural research centres are today orienting their research in this direction. On the other

hand, very often, the efforts have been to find out ways and means of serving big, centralized and mechanized farms, and in some cases, even big industry. The results of the research that has been carried on in developing and popularising the use of new varieties of cotton seeds, sugar-cane, jute etc. are all instances to the point.

Agricultural research centres can carry on experiments in "Rishikheti" (a mode of cultivation in which animals and tractors are not used and man carries on all the agricultural operations with the help of implements that he himself can use). Research will be carried on to see whether improved implements and modes cannot make Rishikheti as economic and efficient as any other form of cultivation. One of the objectives of research in this line will be to find out whether, and if so how, cultivation can be efficiently carried on without depending on animals and big machines, even for manure. If it is found that Rishikheti can be an economically efficient mode of cultivation it will also help in providing employment for a large number of people, and some land may then be set apart for Rishikheti.

Agricultural research centres and experimental farms may be established on newly reclaimed land. These farms will use the latest mechanical accessories and carry on experiments in the relative merits of all modes of cultivation.

III. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The relation between animal husbandry and agriculture is self-evident. It cannot be over-emphasized in a country like India where more than 80% of the population live in villages and depend on agriculture and agronomic occupations for their livelihood. Any plan that aspires to bring back these villages to life should, therefore, plan to revitalize and dovetail agriculture, animal husbandry and village industries. The scientific and harmonious development of these three is bound to increase agricultural pro-

duction, do away with rural unemployment and under-employment, increase the purchasing power of the rural population and improve the standard of living and the self-reliance of our villagers.

About 71.6% of our population live on agriculture and ancillary occupations. They contribute about 4,750 crores to the National Income (49.9%). But the average per capita annual income of a person employed in agriculture and allied occupations is only Rs. 482/- (on the basis of the 1952-53 price level). This is the lowest for any vocational group in the country, and is below the national average for occupied persons, as can be seen from the following table:

	Vocational Pattern	Annual Per capita Income (Rupees)
1.	Communications, Railways, Banks and Insurance	2250
2.	Mining and Factory Establishments	2225
3.	Other Commerce and Transport	1510
4.	Government Administration, Professions, Liberal arts and the rest	1161
5.	Small Enterprises	850
6.	Agriculture and allied pursuits	482
7.	Average for all India	710

Unless we increase the output per acre and supplement the income of the agriculturist by providing him with a gainful subsidiary occupation, we cannot hope to improve the standard of living of our rural population. Animal husbandry is the most natural subsidiary occupation that an agriculturist can turn to. The bullock is his draught-animal. The cow gives him milk which he can use to balance his diet as well as to bring in an additional income. Agriculturists must, therefore, be persuaded to take to animal husbandry, especially to cow-keeping, since the cow is the most useful of the animals that man has domesticated.

The cow has almost become a partner, though mute and unwilling, in the economic life of the agriculturist. It has become a symbol of the place that co-operation between different species occupies in the economy of nature. In the case of the lower animals, this co-operation is not deliberate, since it is only the incidental consequence of their instinctive ways of living. But man uses the cow with a full knowledge of the pivotal role that it plays in his agricultural and domestic economy. The cow has thus become a symbol of the co-operation between man and 'lower' forms of life, and of the cultural achievement that brought a denizen of the jungle to the threshold of human society. It has, therefore, been an object of veneration in our country.

But it is unfortunate that many do not understand or appreciate this enlightened attitude to the cow that is ingrained in the cultural outlook of the Indian. The unscientific, and often wrong ways in which the case is presented add to the misunderstanding and provoke avoidable opposition. We must realise that cultural and economic considerations have given the cow a special and significant place in the socio-economic pattern that we visualize. A little reflection will suffice to convince us that this attitude is not only in conformity with the essential cultural values that we have established in our country, but is also one that wisdom and foresight dictate.

In our schemes for cattle breeding the cow has to receive first priority. An adequate supply of the draught animal that our agriculture requires and the milk that we need as an essential item of our diet can both be obtained through scientific cow farming. It cannot be said that the buffalo will be able to fulfil the requirements of providing draught animals for every region in the country. Nor can we think of the tractor as an alternative that can eliminate the need for a draught animal, as far as our country is concerned. The bullock, is, therefore, very essential for our agriculture. The cow is superior to the buffalo even in respect of the quantity of

milk that it yields, though it must be admitted that with the poor care that the cow receives today it is not able to compete with the buffalo in this regard. From the point of view of the nutritional content of the milk and its effect on human health too, it must be admitted that cow's milk is more suited and helpful to man than the milk of the buffalo.

The Sarvodaya Plan wants to establish a decentralized economic order that will promote regional self-sufficiency. From this point of view too it must be borne in mind that the sources of power and traction will have to be decentralized. It will, therefore, be a wastage of the economic potential of the country if the widely distributed bullock power is not harnessed and made more efficient. From all these points of view, therefore, it is clear that primary emphasis in cattle-breeding will have to be laid on cow-keeping and on improving the breeds of the cow.

If the cow is to survive it has to become economically self-sufficient. It cannot become economically self-sufficient unless it is enabled to serve both the purposes for which it is valued. Its breeds must, therefore, be improved to ensure that it supplies oxen that are sufficiently strong to serve as draught animals and cows that yield an adequate quantity of milk. Even so, the cow may not be self-sufficient unless we learn to make full use of all that it yields. We will have to convince people of the superiority and the benefits of cow's milk, and increase the demand and preference for it. We will have to increase the number of '*Go-Vratis*' i.e. people who decide to consume cow's milk and ghee to the exclusion of the milk of all other milch animals. It will also be necessary to prevent the manufacture and sale of simulated and synthetic products from vegetables and vegetable oils that are given the appearance of genuine milk, butter and ghee. The import of tinned milk and ghee will also have to be controlled.

There can hardly be any doubt that the East and the West differ in their attitudes to the cow and cow keeping. In the West,

oxen are valued for their beef, and not for their draught power. We, on the other hand, look upon the bullock as a draught animal and associate it with the plough. The West solves the problem of dry and useless cattle by sending them to the shambles and consuming them as beef. We, on the other hand, believe that the slaughter of cows that cease to yield milk is culturally retrograde, and should be put an end to. We, will, therefore, have to solve the problem of weak and dry cattle by establishing 'Go-Sadans' and 'Pinjra-Poles' and preventing the multiplication of useless cattle by controlling breeding.

Inadequacy of nutritious fodder is one of the main reasons for the deplorable condition of the cow in India. It may not be possible for us today to maintain large grazing grounds as was the custom in ancient days. Nevertheless, every village must set apart sufficient land as pasture. It must see that at least 10% of the total land area avaiable to the village is utilized for the cultivation of fodder crops. Fodder crops will have to be chosen after giving due consideration to the nutritional requirements of our cattle, and the quality of the grass available in grazing grounds and adjacent jungles will have to be improved. The method of mixed farming, cultivation of fodder crops on the rotation system, and efforts to make full use of bran, oil-cakes and other articles that are discarded from the edibles that man uses, etc. will supply cattle with the much needed nutritive fodder, and thereby, increase yields.

The improvement of breeds is an equally important step that will have to be undertaken. Here too, we will have to remember that the cow, for us, is a dual purpose animal. The bullocks that it gives birth to have to be strong enough to function as draught animals, and its progeny have to yield an adequate quantity of milk. Breeds will, therefore, have to be improved from both these points of view. The methods that we adopt will have to be such as simultaneously increase efficiency in both these respects, and not such as result in an increase in one, at the cost of the other.

Today the per capita consumption of milk in India is only about 4 oz. per day, whereas the bare minimum for a planned diet has been calculated as about 20 oz. per day. It is, therefore, that if our cows are to yield this basic minimum, the total yield of milk in India will have to be raised to five times what it is today. Nor can the per capita consumption of milk be increased merely by increasing the total yield. Every village must have an adequate supply of milk, and every villager must have the purchasing power that is necessary to inlcude 20 oz. of milk in his daily diet. This can only be achieved in a decentralized economic order that guarantees full employment to all.

Stocks will have to be improved through selective breeding. Every effort should be made to improve local breeds which have, by natural processes of adaptation become efficient in serving the needs of their respective regions. It will be found that in a large number of cases this can be achieved with the help of selective breeding and measures to castrate bulls that found to be unfit for the stud. Where it is found that the local breed cannot be improved by these measures alone, and that draught power and milk yield can only be increased by cross breeding, this too will be resorted to. The village community will have to take steps to see that dry and weak cattle are not turned out on the streets or sent to slaughter houses. Individual owners and, wherever necessary, the community will, therefore, see that all weak, dry and disabled cattle are impounded and maintained in 'Go-Sadans' and 'Pinjrapoles' near afforested lands or the pasture lands of the village. The cattle in the 'Go-Sadans' and 'Pinjrapoles' will be maintained through public contributions, provident funds created from the sale proceeds of the milk that they were yielding, proceeds from the sale of manure, etc. Strong cattle whose only defect is deficiency in yield may be used in agricultural operations or for other light work that they are strong enough to do. The Community must make full use of the bones, meat and hides of dead cattle.

They will, therefore, set up tanneries and installations for the manufacture of manure, etc. in the villages.

The heavy demand for milk in big cities and considerations of profit making have conspired to concentrate cows and buffaloes that yield plenty of milk in our big cities, where there are no institutions to take care of dry and weak cattle. The result is that these cows and buffaloes are sent to slaughter houses as soon as they go dry. The conditions in which cattle are maintained in cities are often injurious to their health. These enervate them, impair their power of reproduction and affect the health of their progeny. The only way to prevent this deterioration in the health and stock of our cattle is to take them out of the cities and maintain them in dairies and farms in the villages that lie near our towns. Cities and towns can receive their daily supply of milk from these dairy farms. This seems to be the only way in which an adequate supply of milk for the towns can be assured without impairing the health and stock of our cattle and exposing them to injurious conditions of existence. These dairies may be set up in suburban villages where enough land is available to allow cow-keeping to be organized on an economic basis. They will not only serve the towns from outside but also serve the interests of agriculture in the neighbouring villages. Dung and urine that add to the dirt and insanitary conditions of the towns will prove beneficial as manure, and will help to improve the soil and enrich the harvest. All this underlines the relation between agriculture and animal husbandry and lends weight to the fact that milch cattle should not be maintained in large numbers in big cities.

The veterinary facilities that exist today are meagre and inadequate. Moreover, since our veterinary hospitals are based on the allopathic system of treatment it is often difficult for villagers to avail of the facilities offered by these hospitals because of the costliness of the treatment. It will, therefore, be necessary to encourage the use of the Ayurvedic system and to promote research on the curative qualities of the herbs that are locally available and of drugs

that can be easily manufactured in the area itself. Cheap allopathic medicines that can be easily made available to the villagers must also be manufactured and distributed through these veterinary centres. Every four or five villages will have a veterinary health centre where ailing animals can receive proper treatment. Villages benefiting from the centre or the regional planning authority of of the area will be responsible for organizing and maintaining these centres.

The village community must also ensure that pure drinking water is made available for the animals that are maintained in the village.

An elementary knowledge of the science of cow-keeping must be regarded as an essential part of the general education that children receive from basic or post-basic schools. It will also be necessary to establish specialized institutions for providing advanced instruction in the science and art of cow-keeping.

IV. INDUSTRY

The principles underlying the Plan and the objectives that have already been outlined in the earlier sections leave no doubt that the entire industrial structure of our society will have to be revolutionized and unambiguously re-oriented towards decentralization, self-sufficiency and full and integral employment. Decentralization does not denote the absence of planning and co-ordination. A decentralized industrial order is not one in which industries spring up spontaneously and function without any relation to the needs and resources of the area or the efforts that other communities are making in the different sectors of production. It is a planned order that integrates production with the needs of consumption, relates the needs and potentialities of every area with those of others and organizes the processes of production with the help of instruments that can maximize both employment and production, without giving room for the

dependence and exploitation that result from the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production in the hands of a few. Such a decentralized order cannot be established by the mere geographical dispersal of industries. Nor can it grow up spontaneously on the basis of languishing village industries that are as much handicapped by the competition of factories as by the techniques and implements they employ. Decentralization is not a device to turn back the hands of the clock and go back to archaic methods of production that primitive communities were satisfied with. It does not want to renounce the benefits of technological progress. It only wants to ensure that the benefits of science and technology enable us to preserve the essence of democracy even while avoiding drudgery and maximizing production and employment. Decentralization will, therefore, involve a radical revolution in the very concept of industrialization, in the purposes which technology will be called upon to serve.

Such a decentralized system of production has innumerable advantages over centralized methods of production. There will be no concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production to lead to monopoly capitalism or totalitarianism. Workers can own the instruments of production that they use. This will abolish the distinction between employer and employee. 'Employment' itself will become a misnomer. The worker will cease to be a wage-earner who is not concerned with the processes or the consequence of his work. He will experience the joy of creative work, and will lose no initiative. This will maximize full and integral employment as well as the volume of production. Moreover, since production and consumption will be integrated with the needs of specific areas, the overhead costs of transporting raw materials and produce, and maintaining an elaborate machinery for managing the processes of distribution, will all be reduced to the minimum. Nor will there be anything like the tremendous social costs of a highly centralized system of production.

It is equally clear that such a decentralized system of production can be organized with much more moderate investments of capital than those needed for a centralized system of production and that the ratios of output to investment and investment to employment will be greater in decentralized production. It seems to be a fallacy to believe that industrialization, in the accepted sense of the term, will lead to any appreciable increase in employment. The following figures about the number of factories and the number of persons employed by them during the period 1947-53 bear eloquent testimony to the fact that industrialization of the kind contemplated by those who believe in centralized methods of production has neither succeeded in reducing the pressure on land and providing alternative occupations nor increased the volume of employment :—

**	1947	1950	1953
Number of registered factories in existence ..	5,632	7,099	7,104
Fixed Capital employed (Rs. in lakhs) ..	1,77,17	2,58,15	3,24,92
Working Capital employed (Rs. in lakhs) ..	2,26,27	3,56,38	4,03,74
Total Capital employed (Rs. in lakhs) ..	4,03,44	6,14,53	7,28,66
Number of workers employed (in Thousands) ..	14,87	14,68	14,71
Number of persons other than workers employed (in Thousands) ..	1,46	1,64	1,57
Total number of persons employed (in Thousands) ..	16,33	16,32	16,28

** Figures taken from the Eastern Economist, April 20, 1956.

That a decentralized industrial structure that makes use of technology to improve traditional instruments and techniques can provide much fuller and more varied opportunties of employment while increasing the volume of production should be clear from the following tables :—

† ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT

Industry	Estimated expenditure as per allocation. (Rs. in lakhs)	Volume of employment (Number of persons)	Nature of additional employment
1. Cotton weaving (handloom)	8,000	25 lakhs	Fuller
2. Silk weaving (handloom)	500	2.5 lakhs	,,
3. Wool weaving (handloom)	300	1.0 lakh	,,
4. Wool spinning and weaving—Khadi	220	30,000	Part-time
5. Decentralized cotton spinning and Khadi	2,300	2 to 3 lakh spinners	Part-time
6. Handpounding of rice	826	10 lakhs	Seasonal
7. Vegetable oil (ghani)	1,300	1,50,000 oilmen plying traditional ghani	Fuller
		50,000 oilmen plying improved ghani	
8. Leather footwear and tanning (village)	615		Fuller and more remunerative.

† Table quoted from the Report of the Karve Committee.

9. Gur and khandsari	800	38,000	Fuller
10. Cottage match	100	†	Wholetime
11. Other village industries	1,100	{ 10,000 1,00,000	Part-time Wholetime
12. Handicrafts	1,100	1,40,000	Wholetime
13. Small scale industries	6,500	36,000	Wholetime
14. Sericulture	600	1,60,000	Wholetime
15. Coir spinning and weaving	200	60,000	Wholetime
16. General schemes	.	25,000	Wholetime
e.g., administration, research etc.	1,500	15,000	Wholetime
	25,961		

‡ TOTAL OUTLAY AND EMPLOYMENT IN KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Industry	Total Outlay (Rs. in lakhs)	Employment
A		
1. Khadi		
(i) Cotton	18,987.09	51.3 lakhs
(ii) Woollen	452.85	32.250
2. Hand Pounding	4,244.41	13.1 lakhs
3. Village Oil	1,837.95	2.0 ,,
4. Gur Khandasri	1,943.97	2.42 ,,

† Expenditure on this industry is expected to lead to improvement of quality and reduction of costs. Additional employment created would be relatively small and unimportant.

‡ Estimated by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

5. Village Leather	539.75	30,000
6. Cottage Match	165.25	69,000
7. Soap	945.47	2.28 lakhs
8. Hand Paper	133.62	12,000
Total A	29,250.36	72.53 ,,
B		
9. Palm Gur	1,529.86	2.6 ,,
10. Bee-keeping	92.02	19,375
11. Village Pottery	14.51	8,000
Total B	1 636.39	2.87 ,,
C		
Experiment in Intensive Area, Training & Research	818.51	
Grand Total	31,705.26	75.4 lakhs

It will be noticed that these tables reveal the enormous increase in employment that even a planned common production programme can achieve. Opportunities for full and gainful employment will increase manyfold if it is decided to re-organize all consumer goods industries on the basis of a decentralized system of production instead of contenting ourselves with a common production programme in which the production of consumer goods is organized both through decentralized methods and through the existing factories and centralized installations. Even in towns, the opportunities for employment can be considerably increased if medium type industries like hosiery, sports goods manufacture, etc. are organized on a decentralized basis.

It must now be clear that a decentralized economic order of the kind visualized by Sarvodaya can be built up only on the basis of a purposive re-orientation of the industrial structure as well as of technology.

It has already been pointed out that the main pattern of employment in a Sarvodaya society will be self-employment, the artisans themselves owning the instruments of production and enjoying the fruits of their labour. Production will have to be decentralized and co-related to the reeds of equitable distribution. The community and the regional and central authorities will, therefore, formulate an industrial policy which substitutes self-employment and co-operation in the place of competition and centralized large-scale production, organized either by a handful of entrepreneurs or by an all-powerful state. There will be three sectors of industry in a Sarvodaya economic order :

1. A self-employed sector in which the artisans themselves own the instruments of production.

2. A co-operative sector in which artisans will own most of the instruments of production individually, and supplement them with essential instruments that they cannot own individually. The community will procure these essential instruments and place them at the disposal of the Workers' Co-operatives. The ownership of these instruments will vest in the community itself, but the workers' co-operatives will be free to organize the day to day management of the undertaking.

3. A social sector in which the community or the State will be responsible for organizing the industry, procuring raw-materials and disposing of produce, etc. These industries need not necessarily be organized and run by the administrative authorities of the State itself. As for as possible they will be organized and run through other forms of social ownership like municipal corporations, public corporations etc.

The self-employed sector will be responsible for producing articles of consumption. All industries that can be economically and efficiently worked with the help of instruments and raw materials that the individual artisan can secure with his own efforts or with the help of the local multi-purpose co-operative, will largely be in the self-employed sector.

Industries that do not need heavy equipment which only the State or the nation as a whole can secure, but can be economically operated on a decentralized basis, with the help of instruments that can generally be manufactured in the locality and owned by individuals or groups of workers, will be organized on a co-operative basis, the workers in the industry owning whatever instruments of production they can own individually, and managing the processes connected with the industry. Processing industries that convert locally available raw materials into finished products will normally be organized by the co-operative sector. This sector can also take up the work of assembling parts of machinery, manufactured by self-employed artisans as well as the heavy and centralized industries.

The Social sector will consist of heavy industries and industries that cannot be organized except on an inter-regional level and with the help of machinery that cannot be used without a degree of centralization. This sector thus will be responsible for the iron and steel industry, shipping, mechanical transport, metallurgical and engineering industries and industries that fulfil the requirements of defence, to the extent that they remain in the period of transition. But the objective of the sector will mainly be to supplement the efforts of the self-employed and the co-operative sectors and to help the community to meet the requirements that the former cannot economically or technically cater to. These industries will thus, (1) produce cheap, efficient and standardized tools and implements for the self-employed and co-operative sectors, (2) meet the requirements of mechanical transport and public utilities and (3) produce commodities that the country decides to export, when such commodities cannot be efficiently produced by the other two sectors.

It will be the deliberate policy of the State and the village community to provide the self-employed artisans and industrial co-operatives with ample and cheap credit facilities, raw materials and technical skill, and to help them in marketing their produce.

One of the major objectives of the industrial policy will also be to ensure the full utilization of the mineral resources of the country consistent with the necessity to see that irreplaceable resources are not exhausted at the cost of the general welfare of the community. The development and the utilization of these mineral resources will be the responsibility of the nation as a whole, and the industrial policy will ensure that their development and utilization keep pace with the demands of the country's industrial structure.

TRANSITION

The question then arises of the method of piloting the industrial system through the period of transition. To begin with, the respective areas of the three sectors referred to in the above section will have to be demarcated distinctly, and the kind of commodities that each sector will produce, the system of production that will obtain in each sector and the targets which each sector will be expected to realize will have to be laid down. Every effort will then be made to enable each sector to fulfil what is expected of it and to prevent other sectors from encroaching on its domain.

Big and centralized industries that are today engaged in the manufacture of commodities that will be earmarked for the co-operative and self-employed sectors, will be induced to reorganize and decentralize themselves, and to switch over to the pattern of production envisaged in these sectors into which they will have to fit in.

When the movement for the abolition of private property in land gathers momentum, and a large number of people readily renounce their titles, the determination to cling to private property in industry will also be undermined, and industrialists may willingly fall in line with the industrial policy visualized in this plan. When a large number of workers have themselves become conscious of the anti-social nature of private property and relin-

quished their own titles to private ownership, they will acquire the strength to create a climate in which industrialists too feel impelled to give up private ownership of the means of production.

If the owners of industry still refuse to fall in line with the new policy, the community may socialize their concerns after paying a compensatory rehabilitation allowance, as in the case of the landowners whose lands are taken over by the community. The consideratiogns that have been referred to in the chapter on 'Agriculture' will determine the nature, the amount and the extent of the allowance that may be paid in each case.

Meanwhile, the establishment of new industrial concerns and the installation of new equipment, even in replacement of worn out parts in the centralized industries that are today engaged in the production of commodities that will be earmarked for other sectors will be stopped, and the self-employed and co-operative sectors will be helped to establish themselves on an economically efficient basis. With this end in view, fields of production will be demarcated for each of the three sectors. This does not mean that mills and factories will immediately cease to produce articles that are earmarked for the self-employed and co-operative sectors. Such an overnight stoppage will throw the industrial system out of gear, if it is not accompanied by a simultaneous and proportionate increase in the productive capacity in these sectors. There will, therefore, be a period of transition in which an integrated 'common' production programme will be undertaken by the existing centralized installations and an increasing number of self-employed artisans and industrial co-operatives.

Such a common production programme, in its turn, will have to ensure parity between the prices of commodities produced by different sectors, when units in all the sectors co-operate to produce an adequate quantity of the same commodity. This can be achieved in many ways. A cess can be imposed on the articles produced by factories and mills to ensure that big industry does no

undermine the other sectors by the cheapness of its produce where a cess and the reservation of fields of production are not sufficient to enable the self-employed and co-operative sectors to stand on their own feet and fulfil what the plan expects of them. Co-operatives may be encouraged to take over the marketing of the produce, and the State may subsidize the co-operatives to make good the loss that they may incur in selling the produce at the price at which the products of big industries are sold.

It is true that this amounts to a kind of indirect or even direct subsidization of the self-employed and the co-operative sectors. But when the declared purpose of the plan itself is to establish these sectors on an economically sound footing, there is no need to be apologetic about these subsidies. Moreover, when it is borne in mind that governments have been using industrial policy to favour and indirectly subsidize big industries, and to bring about the deliberate or incidental destruction of village industries, as is evident from the table given below, no one should find it difficult to accept that a society that deliberately chooses to revolutionize its industrial system, can also legitimately utilize industrial policy to establish a decentralized system of production.

TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF PROTECTED INDUSTRIES

A. Industries

Name of the Industry:	Date of protection	Date	Unit of production	Prod. in pre-protection/protection year	Prod. in 1954.	Remarks.
A. Industries first protected in per-war years:						
1. Cotton tex.						
a. yarn industry.	1927	1947	Million lbs.	807	1,564	
b. piecegoods			Million yds.	2,259	5,000	
			Thousand tons			

2. Iron & Steel industry	1924	1927	Thousand tons	131	1,532	
3. Paper Industry	1925	1947	,,	27	90	For Jan. Oct. '54.
4. Sugar Industry	1931	1950	,,	158	836	For Jan. Nov. '54
5. Match Industry	1928	...	Thousand cases	214	490	1 case equals 50 grs. matches.
B. Industries first protected in post-war years.						
(a) Metallurgical Industries :						
Aluminium Industry	15/5/48	...	Tons	1,070	4,886	Figures relate to ignots.
Ferro-silicon Industry	10/5/48	31/12/53	,,	1,166	3,811	Relates to 1953.
(b) Chemical and allied Industries:						
Soda ash Industry	22/2/50	...	Tons	17,918	48,293	
Starch Industry	12/4/50	...	,,	1,350	19,562	For 1953
(c) Engineering Industries :						
Bicycles Industry	22/3/47	...	Nos.	42,984	3,48,666	
Electric Motors Industry	12/4/48	...	Nos.	8,913	31,288	
Hurricane Lanterns Industry	25/1/47	31/12/54	Thousand Nos.	470	4,604	
Sewing Machines Industry	22/3/47	31/12/54	Nos.	6,871	80,299	

It must be borne in mind that the table quoted above does not contain an exhaustive list of the industries that have received protection from the Government. Nor does it reveal the quantum of protection that various industries have received. It is only

illustrative of the fact that a number of industries that have made progress during the last 20 years and more have done so with the help of the protection and the subsidies they have received.

It is true that the incidence of this subsidization will be on the consumer and the tax-payer. But it can be seen from the table given above that consumers and tax-payers have been putting up with this burden for as long a period as a quarter of a century in the case of some large scale industries. There is hardly any reason, therefore, to believe that the reaction will be different when the subsidization is meant to provide full employment and improve the living standards of 92.6 per cent of the population.*

It may be that in the initial stages of the transition, the commodities produced by the self-employed and co-operative sectors will be dearer in terms of money, and in some cases, poorer in quality when compared to the commodities produced by the centralized sector. But if the social costs involved in the production of the same commodities in the centralized sector and the self-employed and co-operative sectors are compared, it will certainly be found that the products of the decentralized sectors are not dearer. Moreover, with the improved technical skill and equipment that will be available to these sectors in the new order and with the help that the State will provide to set these sectors on their feet, the cost of production is bound to go down, and the quality of the products will certainly rise equal to those turned out today by the centralized industries. It will then be seen that subsidization will be necessary only as long as the same commodities are produced both by the decentralized as well as the centralized sectors, and there is competition between the two.

It is clear that a Government that wants to establish a decentralized economic order will have to start with an unequi-

* From "Records Statistics." Eastern Economist publications, Vol. 6, No. 3, Pp. 27-28.

vocal reorientation of its policy in the direction of decentralization. As has been stated above, it will have to demarcate sectors of production and outline a common production programme for the period of transition and aim at the gradual elimination of centralized production in industries falling within the self-employed and co-operative sectors. It will have to concert measures for ensuring price parity and, where necessary, transferring the subsidies that are today enjoyed by the centralized industries to industries that will be assigned to the self-employed and co-operative sectors. It is idle to expect that, without the help of such a clear cut policy, the provision of a few crores of rupees for assistance to village industries can establish a decentralized order.

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1948 and the recent revision of it have in no way improved matters as far as the progress towards a decentralized economic order is concerned. The recent revision has enlarged the scope of the public sector and provided for concurrent control in many industries. It can be regarded as an effort to limit the extent of the private sector. But it has made no radical departure from the policy of building up a centralized system of production. Nor even has it accepted and incorporated the recommendations of the Karve Committee. This unwillingness to re-orient policy in the direction of decentralization, even where the technical efficiency of the instruments warrant it, is unmistakably evident in the attitude to the Ambar Charkha as well.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

As has been indicated in an earlier section, there will be three sectors in the industrial system. In the self-employed sector, the ownership of the instruments of production will vest in the artisan himself. In the co-operative sector, the ownership of whatever instruments of production the individual himself can own will vest in the individual. Other essential instruments that individuals cannot buy and own will be owned by the community.

The management of the processes of production will be undertaken by the co-operative society and its organs. In the social sector, the ownership will vest in the community or the State or public corporations, but the day to day management of the processes of the industry will be in the hands of the workers themselves. However, since the prices of the commodities produced by these industries will affect the whole community, the machinery for the fixation of prices will include the representatives of consumers. The prices will be so fixed as to cover the cost of production, to ensure a fair income atleast a living wage in every case to the workers employed in the industry and to provide a surplus from which a part can be utilized for industrial research, a part ploughed back into the industry and the rest handed over to the state as a contribution to its revenue.

The community will have to guard against violent fluctuations in prices and ensure stability in the general price level. It will, for this purpose, maintain a buffer stock both of agricultural and industrial produce.

Industries connected with the development and utilization of mineral resources will be owned by the State. They will, however, be managed by the workers engaged in the industry, in accordance with the overall policy of development laid down by the State. Defence industries, as long as they exist, will be owned and managed by the State itself.

Adequate arrangements will have to be made in each sector for providing implements, raw materials, finances, technical aid, and facilities for marketing produce. Multi-purpose co-operatives will be set up to see that these facilities are made available to every artisan and industrial co-operative. The tools and implements that are used in the self-employed sector may mostly be such as can be produced by the workers themselves in the locality; but where this is not feasible, big industries will be geared to the production of these implements, and these will be supplied

to the artisans through multi-purpose co-operatives, at low prices. Where the individual artisan cannot procure the raw materials and the finances necessary for his work, on his own, the multi-purpose co-operatives will make these available to him.

V. MACHINERY, POWER AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

There is a mistaken belief that Sarvodaya is against all machinery and technological progress, that it wants to cling to primitive methods of production and reconcile society to penurious standards of living. This is a caricature and a gross distortion of the Sarvodaya point of view. Sarvodaya is not against machinery or technological progress. It wants to make use of both to increase the productive efficiency of man, to save him from monotonous drudgery and to enable him to utilize his leisure hours for the higher moral and cultural pursuits that give meaning to life. But it is certainly against the innumerable evils that have become the hall-mark of the present-day industrial civilization.

The industrial civilization of the present is a heritage of the historico-economic context in which the machine was accepted by society. It was adopted and nurtured by *laissez faire* capitalism whose main interest was to increase profit by increasing output, saving labour and capturing ever-widening markets. It did not, therefore, care for the personality of the producer or the artistic individuality of a work that reflected the personality of the artisan. Nor did it care for the social necessity of finding full and creative employment for all. The result was that the machine began to throw men out of employment, to rob them of the opportunity for creative self-expression in work, to reduce them to cogs in the wheels of mass manufacture. The machine thus began to manufacture "mass men" whose habitat was the slum and whose lives lost all purposiveness, and became a series of

conditioned reflexes responding to the arbitrary and limited alternative that the industrial system placed before them. This has led to the 'depersonalization' of production and the dehumanization' of man.

Technology too owed its development to the patronage of Capital and Trade, and, therefore, began to concentrate on the fabrication of machines that maximized the profit of Capital at the cost of man and society. All these were the inevitable consequences of machinery and technology accepting the role of handmaids of Capitalism. The long and continued association of the two has sanctified the gross misuse of the power of the machine and the results of technological advance into a hide-bound tradition. The machine and technology have thus suffered for the evils of Capitalism, while Capitalism has unashamedly taken credit for the merits of the machine.

Even the coming of Socialism has not signified an adequate corrective to the evils of capitalist industrialization. The unfortunate tendency is to believe that the evils of 'industrialism will disappear with the elimination of private ownership. But the evils of the present 'industrial civilization' are as much due to the methods of production as to the private ownership of the instruments of production. These evils cannot, therefore, be eliminated without grappling with both these factors, i. e., ending the concentration of the ownership of the instruments of production in the hands of a few and eschewing the use of machines that lead to the concentration of ownership, create unemployment, attenuate the physical and intellectual abilities of man, eliminate the opportunity for creative self-expression and cause the 'dehumanization' of man. Sarvodaya stands for such a 'dynamic integration' of the enormous power of the machine and the paramount considerations of the economic and cultural well-being of all. It is not against machinery. It will welcome all machinery and forms of power "that subserve the interests of all". It is not against an industrial revolution. What

it is opposed to are the pattern and purposes of the Industrial Revolution that Capitalism engineered in the Eighteenth century.

The use of machinery in a Sarvodaya economic order will thus conform to the basic principles on which the order is established. The possibility of a relapse into the evils of the present industrial system that the indiscriminate use of machinery may entail, will be guarded against. Every effort will, however, be made to attain the optimum technological efficiency that is consistent with the need to maximize production and employment without leading to over-production or centralization. This optimum may vary with the invention of new techniques and instruments of production, the growth of population and changes in economic conditions.

Every kind of power that can be yoked to industry without militating against the considerations that have been laid down above will be tapped and utilized. The discovery of new sources of power like electricity, atomic energy, solar energy, etc., have made it possible for us to generate, distribute and utilize power without inviting the evils of centralization. Where the kind of power is such that it can be generated only through centralized operations, the production plant will be owned by the community or the regional authority.

In tapping the sources of power, and setting up generating plants, care will be taken to see that all the resources available in a locality are developed and utilized for the benefit of the locality. Local sources of power, that can supply the needs of the self-employed and the co-operative sectors adequately, will be drawn upon for the benefit of the industries in these sectors. As far as possible the generation of power will be organized on a decentralized basis, and the economic necessity of utilizing all kinds of power available in a locality will not be lost sight of. It will then be possible to utilize different kinds of power for different agricultural and industrial operations. For instance, the

bullock, the buffalo and the camel may be used for agriculture, ghani, etc.; water-lifting operations may be done by animal power as well as mechanical power where necessary; transport of some kinds may be undertaken with the help of animal power while others may be through the utilization of steam, electricity, etc.

Industrial and technological research will be fostered by all units and sectors of the industrial system to ensure that the benefits of science and technology are made available to the community for increasing the efficiency of production and maximizing employment and for creating conditions that are conducive to the higher pursuits of man. A research bureau will be attached to each industry, and the industries that benefit from the research carried on by the bureaux will help in organizing and financing the bureaux and the research carried on by them. There will be an Industrial Research Council to co-ordinate the work carried on by the bureaux attached to the different sectors of industry. One of the objects of industrial research will be to widen the area of the self-employed sector and to discover the technical possibilities of decentralizing even such industries as are considered incapable of being run on a decentralized basis today. In contrast to the emphasis that is evident in industrial research today, the Research Council will see that the needs of the self-employed and the co-operative sectors receive the attention that they deserve.

VI. BANKING, CURRENCY AND INSURANCE

Money and banking are the forces that keep the wheels of big industry moving today. Banks provide capital, and the State and the Central Bank manipulate monetary policy by controlling the volume of money in circulation and determining the rate of interest, thereby achieving the desired equilibrium between current consumption and saving, and ensuring that investment is channelized to serve the ends of the economic system.

It can hardly be gainsaid that the State and the banks are today utilising these instruments of policy to serve the interests of big industry. Though money was introduced to obviate the difficulties inherent in the system of barter and to function as a unit of account and value, it has today acquired much more significance, and become an object to be coveted and possessed for its own sake. It has become the magic key that opens all doors. It has become the measuring rod that determines the social status of men. From a unit that can help compute economic value it is fast becoming a determinant of the social and ethical values of men. Its lure is assiduously and skilfully used to undermine established values of truth, honesty and charity, and to make people accept, and act upon codes of conduct that they themselves would consider reprehensible but for the fact that they have become sanctified rites in the worship of Mammon. It is valued and coveted not only for the material needs that it can satisfy but also for the recognition that it brings in society. It is used not only to fulfil material wants and secure services that only money can buy, but also to influence public opinion, corrupt those in authority, silence criticism and liquidate man's instinctive loyalty to morals and even to institutions like the family and the State. Elections are won by money. Means of mass communication like newspapers, radio, schools, etc. are controlled and conditioned by the views and interests of those who can command money.

All this is not, however, sufficient reason to conclude that currency and banking are institutions that are incapable of being utilised to promote the needs of a decentralized and equalitarian economic order. Money and banking will remain as long as production is for exchange or sale, and distances in time and space stand between the initiation and completion of economic activities. But everything must be done to remove its fangs and render it incapable of injecting poison into the institutions and norms that govern the economic, social and political life of the community.

In the ideal economic order that Sarvodaya visualizes, production will not be for sale or exchange. Everyone will be a producer, and will work with the desire to make one's maximum contribution to the common social pool. Each will work according to his capacity. All will consider it their responsibility to see that each has whatever he needs. As has been stated earlier, the bonds that uphold the economic life of the family will uphold the economic life of the larger community as well. Each will regard his labour as supplementing that of others in providing for the needs of himself and the community. It is clear that in such a society in which the incentives and purposes of production have undergone a fundamental change, the nature and role of money and banking too will undergo an equally fundamental change. Interest will disappear as an incentive to save and invest. The incentive to produce, save and invest will all be the moral obligation that life in society and the needs of society place on everyone.

But, in the period of transition, till the consciousness of this moral obligation becomes strong enough to render other incentives superfluous, production will be for sale or exchange, and these institutions will remain. But their role and nature will undergo a progressive change. They will be made use of to promote the establishment of a decentralized economic order, and to subserve the interests of all instead of the interests of an exploiting few.

Banks will, therefore, serve the rural population. It will be their primary concern to provide the finances necessary for the decentralized industries in the self-employed and the co-operative sectors.

No private commercial banking concerns will be allowed, and banking will not be used as a means of profit. There will be two types of banks—Co-operative Banks and the State Bank. Co-operative Banks will elicit and channelize the savings in the

village, and will provide the necessary finances to the self-employed and co-operative sectors of industry as well as to Co-operative Farms, Joint Farms and individual cultivators. Where the Co-operative Bank is unable to meet the requirements in its area from the resources that it can muster, the State Bank will provide it with the necessary additional finances. Co-operative banks may accept deposists in cash or kind.

The State Bank will perform the functions of the Central Bank, and will be responsible for co-ordinating and orienting the banking structure of the country. An effective mode of institutional association will, therefore, have to be devised to ensure the dovetailing of the purposes and policies of the State Bank and the Co-operative Banks.

It is evident that the role of money as a medium of exchange will be much less important in an economic order in which production will be decentralized and integrated with the needs of local consumption. Individuals and corporations with marketable surplus produce will exchange them for the commodities they need, or sell them to multi-purpose co-operative societies that can provide them with the commodities and services that they want to buy with the sale proceeds.

The role of money can be largely reduced in intra-village transactions by the establishment of a Labour Bank as a wing of the local Co-operative Bank or the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society itself. The Labour Bank will keep a register of the skilled and unskilled man-hours deposited with it as also of the skilled (craft or profession-wise) and unskilled man-hours for which there is demand or necessity in the village. A register will be maintained of the number of labour-hours put in by every individual. The multi-purpose co-operative society or the management of the labour bank will formulate a periodical statement of the value of hours of work in terms of different commodities or services. Commodities or services may be made available accord-

ing to the scale of equivalents fixed by the Bank. This scale of equivalents may change when improvements in the technique of production or other causes alter the output per hour (or the total output) in any particular industry. The village community may decide that in the case of certain commodities produced in the village, all transactions of buying and selling should be carried on through the Labour Bank.

Public servants in the village, and even at higher levels, may receive a part of their salary in kind, either in commodities or in coupons, and the rest may be paid in the national currency, since inter-village and inter-regional transactions will be largely carried on in the national currency. Moreover, money will remain as a unit of account as well as a medium of exchange where no other means can be expeditiously used. But the possibility of money being utilized to the detriment of social interests will thus be minimized. Fluctuations in the value of money will be rare, and even when they occur, in spite of every effort to prevent them, they will neither be so violent as they are in the present economic system, nor will they affect the day to day transactions of the common man to the extent that they do today.

In the highly industrialized system of today the rate of interest plays a dominant part in mobilizing investment. The rate of interest is manipulated to bring about changes in the volume of investment in the different industries. In a Sarvodaya order, however, the self-employed sector will be the major sector of the industrial system, and since the methods of production in this sector do not require capital investment on a scale that makes it impossible for the individual to raise the capital by himself or with the help of the Co-operative Society or the Co-operative Bank, there will be no need to manipulate the rate of interest to establish an equilibrium between the demand for capital and the willingness to invest in the industry. Nor will the volume of investment in big industries be determined by the rate of interest, since other considerations of policy, like the need to

provide full employment and to develop natural resources with a view to maximizing public welfare and ensuring the effective functioning of the productive system outlined above, will determine the investment that the State, the regional agencies and the village communities will make in each public utility service and industry. It must also be borne in mind that in the system outlined in this plan, big industries will no longer be left to individual industrialists who will have to muster capital and mobilize investment on the basis of interest. The rate of profit that the entrepreneur anticipates and the rate of interest that he has to pay on the invested capital will not, therefore, be the factors that determine the channelization of investment.

In the ideal social order that Sarvodaya visualizes, there will be no place for interest as a reward for lending idle savings. Today interest is not only a source of income for the idle rich, but also an inducement to save and invest. Any economic system that wants to maintain and increase the technical and economic efficiency of production, especially when it is an expanding economy, will have to induce people to save and find out ways of mobilizing and utilizing the savings for financing the development of industry and agriculture. In a society in which every member realizes that the efficient organization and expansion of the processes of production require him to save and offer his savings to the community, there will be no need for interest to induce saving and investment. But it may take time for this realization to be universal or sufficiently wide-spread in the community. Interest may, therefore, have a progressively diminishing role to play in this period of transition. The aim will be to eliminate interest gradually and to substitute more socially advantageous incentives for it.

Interest will not be necessary to meet the overhead costs of maintaining banking services, since private commercial banking will be abolished, and the community itself will run co-operative banks and the State Bank, regarding them as essential public

utility services. Interest may remain as a unit of calculation for computing social advantages, where investment in public utilities is involved. During the period of transition, it may also remain as an inducement to save and invest. It has already been stated that progressive steps will be taken to substitute other incentives for interest, especially in so far as the last of these functions is concerned. The elimination of interest may thus be accomplished in three steps or stages :—

(i) Today all loans bear interest. The first step may be to abolish interest on private borrowing. A nominal interest may be paid by the State, the village community or the individual when they borrow from private savings or banks, for productive investment. The rate of this nominal interest will, however, be fixed by the public authority, and will not be such as to enable people to use money-lending as an important source of income. Moreover, the changes in the technique of production and the ownership of the instruments of production envisaged by the Plan will tend to equalize incomes and will make it almost impossible for any individual to earn and save enough to make money-lending on interest a major source of his income.

(ii) Loans will bear no interest, but will bear a guarantee that the money borrowed will be returned.

(iii) Savings will be contributed or donated, when the community issues a call for funds, without any expectation of interest or of the return of the donation.

Nor is it necessary for these three steps to succeed each other. They can be synchronized, and the community may appeal for funds of all the three kinds. As the advance towards a Sarvodaya order becomes more and more real, and increasing numbers of people accept the fundamental beliefs on which a Sarvodaya Plan is based, transactions of the first kind will decrease in number and

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yield place to more and more transactions of the second and third kinds.

INSURANCE

It has already been stated that in a Sarvodaya society, competition will yield place to co-operation , and every individual will feel that the provision of social security for all is a common concern of the individual and the community. The plan itself seeks to provide full employment and an adequate real income that will enable every individual to enjoy a minimum standard of living and to be free from the clamour of material wants. Unemployment will, therefore, be reduced to what has been described as 'frictional unemployment', inevitable during the time-lag between the individual's leaving one job and taking up another. This too will be reduced to a minimum, since the individual will not be a wage-earner, depending on someone else to provide him with tools and, therefore, employment. Since the main pattern of employment that has been visualised is self-employment, he will find it easy to acquire his own tools of production on credit from the Multi-purpose Co-operative Society, paying up in easy instalments.

The integrated economic activities of the members of the family and the feeling of love and co-operation that will inform social relationships will themselves constitute a basic kind of insurance against temporary and frictional unemployment and loss of income due to illness, accidents and old age. Over and above this, if it is considered necessary, especially in the period of transition, the village community, through the multi-purpose co-operative, and the Regional authorities will organize schemes for insurance against the exigencies of unemployment, old age, illness, accidents and failure of crops.

Insurance will not be left to commercial concerns seeking profit. Premia for the schemes of insurance organized by the village community and the regional authorities may be paid in kind or cash.

VII. TRADE

It is evident that in an economic system in which the processes of production are decentralized and integrated with the needs of equitable distribution in the locality in which the production is undertaken, there will be no need for the vast and complicated system of commerce that exists today. The scope of commerce and trading operations will be greatly reduced. When production is for the common social pool, and not for sale or exchange, the question of trade does not arise at all. All produce is shared, and surpluses go to fill up deficits, without any though of receiving something in return.

But even if this stage has not been reached, once the economic system has been reorganized on the basis of decentralization, trade will automatically shrink to healthy dimensions. Individual farmers and artisans who produce more than what they or their families can consume as well as those who produce for exchange, will then barter their surplus or sell them to the multi-purpose co-operative society in the locality. The multi-purpose co-operatives will buy, grade, store and sell these products as well as the produce of the co-operatives within their jurisdiction. Individuals may pay for their purchases in kind or money. Where an area has an exportable surplus of any commodity, the multi-purpose co-operative will dispose of it through inter-unit or inter-regional trade. All trade will be in the hands of the co-opertaives, and if, in the initial period before the co-operatives take over all intra-unit and inter-unit trade, private trading operations are to be allowed, the village community will license private traders and ensure that trade does not lead to exploitation.

As has been stated earlier, trade will not be such as undermines self-sufficiency or lets inter-dependence deteriorate into unhealthy dependence on other areas. The healthy exchange of surpluses, on the other hand, will lead to a better and more economic utilization of the natural resources of the different areas.

International trade too will primarily be an exchange of surpluses. Commodities in which the country has a surplus, or special skill or resources, will be exchanged for articles that the country cannot or does not produce. All such trade with other nations will be in the hands of a State Trading Corporation. International trade too will not be such as undermines self-sufficiency in essentials or gives room for exploitation. There will be no attempt to disrupt the economy of another country by dumping cheap goods that our country may be able to produce. Goods will be exported only when there is a voluntary demand for the goods of this country, and then too, only to the countries from which such demands come.

VIII. TRANSPORT

The coming of railways and the construction of a number of motorable roads have succeeded in creating an impression that facilities for transport and communication are rapidly expanding in our country. Many of these railway lines were laid, and new roads were constructed to facilitate the quick transport of troops to quell uprisings in the nerve-centres of nationalism or to link up outposts or to facilitate the transport of raw materials to ports for export. They were either meant to serve the needs of "law and order" or to drain the rural areas and provide facilities for the development of big industries in the towns. It is these considerations that generally governed the choice of routes for laying rails and constructing roads. Discriminatory freight rates have been, and are being, utilized to provide cheap facilities for transporting raw materials to industrial areas and finished products to rural areas. "There is no doubt that in a vast country like India, with all the variations in topography and terrains, it is not easy to build a net work of pucca roads linking every inhabited spot. The cost in money and labour that such and enormous increase in the mileage of roads entails will also be stupenduous. Yet it can

not be denied that our villages have not received the attention that industrial and urban areas have received. In many areas, there are only foot tracks that wind their way across uninhabited expanses to link one village to another. Bullock carts ply over these tracks or along improvised paths that run parallel to these tracks. Even these improvised tracks fail in areas with heavy rainfall, and villages get almost completely cut off from each other and the rest of the world. They are, therefore, forced to reconcile themselves to these handicaps all the year round. The industries of the village are either deliberately destroyed or undermined by preferential treatment to big industries. Raw materials are taken away. The traditional market for the products of local industries is taken away by the unrestricted import of the cheap products of big industries. When village industries are robbed of both raw materials and markets, the artisans are forced out of employment, skills are not transferred from one generation to another, and the industries either become extinct or technically inefficient. This process of destruction of the industries of the village has impoverished the villages, and made life in them almost sub-human. The absence of good roads that could be used throughout the year has sealed up many villages, and forced their inhabitants to live in poverty, ignorance and disease. All this cannot change, and the village cannot come into its own, unless the very objective of the policy that governs the development of transport and communications are radically changed. The new policy must aim at making villages easily accessible in all seasons, link villages with one another and with towns and industrial areas. Top priority will be given to the development of transport to the villages and in the villages. Village roads will be developed, and new roads will be constructed, and railway lines will be laid to link villages with one another and with the towns in the area. Inland waterways will be developed and made navigable with the same objectives in view. During the period of transition, freight rates in railways, motor transport and coastal shipping will be

revised to facilitate the growth of the small-scale industries in the villages.

In a decentralized economic order, the pressure on long distance transport will decrease as units and regions become increasingly self-sufficient in their essential requirements. They will not depend on transporting these commodities to or from distant places. The exchange of surpluses will be organized through co-operative societies, and the regional authority of the co-operative societies will minimize the pressure on long distance transport by integrating the demand and supply within the region. Production will mainly be to meet the demands in the locality, and will, therefore, render much of the cumbersome process of linking the area of production with the area of consumption unnecessary. Facilities for long-distance transport, like the railway and the aeroplane will be necessary for the quick transport of perishable and delicate articles as well as for educational, cultural and political intercourse between areas. The transport of non-perishable goods over moderate distances will mainly be undertaken with the help of animal power, country crafts, cycles and motor-lorries except in emergencies that warrant recourse to quicker means of transportation. The hand-driven rickshaw will not be used as a means of transport.

The regional and national agencies for the development of transport will see that all the available means of transport are utilized. They will formulate an integrated plan which avoids duplication and competition, and ensure that the needs of every area are attended to. The plan will also attempt to produce the planes, engines, wagons, trucks, rails, cars, ships, boats and other accessories necessary to make the country self-sufficient in the requirements of transport and communication. The power resources of the country, including animal power, petrol, electricity, etc. will be surveyed, and efforts will be made to maximize self-sufficiency in power as well. Most of our motor transport (cars, lorries, motor-cycles, etc.) today depends on fuel that has to

be imported from abroad. Side by side with prospecting for new sources of oil, research bureaux attached to the transport authorities will attempt to invent motor vehicles that can run on locally available fuel or on batteries, as in Japan.

Full use will be made of the waterways of the country, and there will be a planned development of coastal shipping in which both country-crafts and motor-launches will find their place. Ports and harbours will be developed with this end in view. It will be the responsibility of the regional planning agency to develop ports and harbours and to ensure that the means of transport and communications within the region are fully developed in the interests of the villages.

Aviation too will have its place in the system of transport and communications. Passengers, letters, perishable goods, and commodities and medical supplies urgently needed will be transported by air.

Postal facilities must be extended to rural areas, and villages must have the benefit of the telegraph and the telephone. Aviation, railways, coastal and mercantile shipping, posts and telegraphs, telephones, etc., will be owned by the State or public corporations. Bullocks, horses, camels, country crafts, lorries, etc. that the individual can afford to buy and maintain may be owned by him, but the village community or the appropriate authority in the area will fix the rates of freightage to ensure that means of transport, even as means of production, are not owned and used by individuals to create inequality and lead to exploitation, and to throw the economic system out of gear.

IX. LABOUR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

It has already been stated that in a Sarvodaya economic order in which the major sectors of the industrial system are the self-employed and the co-operative sectors, the employer-employee relationship that is one of the distinguishing and dis-

tressing characteristics of Capitalism and State Socialism will no longer be in existence. In the self-employed sector the artisan will himself own the instruments of production. He will employ his time and talents, and will utilize tools that he himself owns. He will, therefore, be employed by none, nor will he employ anyone. The problem of industrial relations does not, therefore, arise in this sector. In the co-operative sector too, the individual or the community will own instruments and the workers themselves, through the co-operatives will manage the processes of production and market the produce. There is no room, therefore, for employer-employee relationships in this sector either. In the third sector, i. e. social sector, the community or the State will own industry, and, as has been stated earlier, these will be run, as far as possible, through Public Corporations set up by the municipal committees and the village community. Since the danger of bureaucracy and concentration of power is in a sense inherent in centralized industry, even if it is owned by the State or the community, every care will be taken to see that the managerial set up and the methods of administration are not such as create a class of bureaucratic and undemocratic managers. Public ownership by itself does not constitute a sufficient guarantee against the dangers of bureaucracy and the concentration of power. It will, therefore, have to function through the organs of industrial democracy. This will, for all practical purposes, eliminate the emergence of the employer employee relationship. The workers' management will ensure ideal working conditions in the industry, and will see that conditions of work are not injurious to the physical and mental health of workers. Hours of work will be determined, and facilities for recreation and medical attention will be made available by the management which will be a representative body of the workers in the industry. Subject to the considerations (already referred to in an earlier section) that will determine the prices of the commodities produced by these industries, the workers themselves, through the organs of their choice, will be responsible

for fixing the wages to be paid in the industry. In a sense, the term 'wage' itself will become a misnomer in this case, since it ceases to be an emolument paid by an owner or employer to an employee or a wage-earner.

There will thus be hardly any scope for friction in industrial relations even in the Social sector that organizes big industries. Workers in every industrial concern, whether in the co-operative sector or in the Social sector, will have the right to organize themselves into unions. These unions will necessarily be very different from the trade unions that exist in the industrial system of today. They will not be unions of one section of the industry organized to protect itself against another section, demanding and struggling for the recognition of rights. They will be unions of workers who are themselves both owners and operators, and will not, therefore, have to struggle for the share that is their 'due' or for getting rights recognized. They will be agencies through which workers discharge their responsibility to the industry, to society at large, and to themselves.

The needs of social security will be met by schemes of insurance of the kind referred to in an earlier section, and above all, by the guaranteeing of full employment. Clean houses and colonies will be built and made available to workers who work in big industries, and have, therefore, to live in townships or big industrial cities.

It has already been pointed out that wages in the sense in which the term is used and understood today will not exist in a Sarvodaya economic order. Since it is an order that believes that each should contribute according to his capacity and receive according to his needs, the degree of the inequality that will remain will be quantitative. All socially useful work, whether manual or intellectual, will be considered to have equal value, and there will be no discrimination in the incomes that different callings yield.

But in the period of transition, the state and the community should make use of moral compulsion, taxation, death duties, etc., to ensure that the inequalities are progressively reduced and, in no case exceed the ratio of 1: 10. Thus the immediate attempt may be to see that every family receives a minimum monthly income of Rs. 100/- and that the maximum income that any family receives is not more than Rs. 1,000/- p.m.

The state or the public corporations and the village community will provide recreational facilities and rest sanitoria, etc. for workers, and will take special care to see that persons engaged in hazardous work likely to cause injury to physical or mental health and in industries that involve drudgery are provided with compensatory recreational, recuperative and medical facilities.

X. EDUCATION

As in many other sectors, or perhaps more than in any other sector, in education too there will have to be a radical re-orientation of purposes, methods and content. Education will not be to produce a privileged class of men who look down upon productive manual labour and selfishly seek to trade on their talent and training to grow rich at the cost of the poor and the needy, but to train people for life in a 'society of producers', to inculcate a living faith in the necessity and dignity of labour, to make them conscious of and responsive to their environment, to enable them to realize their responsibilities to themselves and to society and to help them to enrich and utilize their talents and skill, so that they may develop integrated personalities and make their contribution to knowledge and the well-being of all. This will be education for life, and through life. It will be co-related with the needs of the community and imparted through the medium of a purposeful and productive social activity. In the initial stages of education, especially at the basic level, education will be for self-sufficiency

and in the later stages, especially higher education it will be through productive work that makes a student as nearly self-sufficient as possible. Every pupil will have to acquire the degree of efficiency that has been prescribed as the standard for his class, in the basic crafts as well as in other basic studies. This increasing efficiency in craftsmanship will make the pupil increasingly competent to acquire self-sufficiency and will make it possible for the school community (including teachers and students) to be approximately selfsufficient if the expenses are computed over the whole period for which a pupil is in the school.

Post-Basic and Higher Education too should be through the medium of a socially useful creative activity or craft. The medium of instruction in the primary classes should be the mother tongue and, in the Post-Basic and Higher Classes, the Regional or State language.

It will be the responsibility of the community to provide basic education for all, and facilities for higher and technical education to persons who have passed through the primary stage and desire to go in for higher and specialized education. Every child in the village must receive training, either through Nayi Talim, or otherwise, to acquire the efficiency in a craft and in co-related studies that every pupil who completes 8 years of Basic Education receives.

Education will be free from State Control. Teachers and educational societies will organize schools and institutes of higher learning, and will conduct experiments in education. To ensure that education is made available to all, the village community or the State may run schools where there are no Schools run by individuals or Educational Societies, or where these do not exist in adequate numbers. The community or the State may establish or finance schools, but they will not control the system of education. The system of education, the curricula, etc. will be determined by boards of teachers. Educational societies and individuals will be free to carry on experiments. The State or the

Community may provide them with financial assistance without seeking to control.

Every village will have a Bal Mandir of a pre-basic centre and a basic school or schools of the same standard. There will be institutes for post-basic or higher education and for specialized and advanced training in crafts. These will be so located as not to be at a distance of more than four or five miles from any village. The management of these schools and institutes may be in the hands of educational societies and the responsibility for financing them will rest with the group of villages which these institutions serve.

Higher and University education will also be thoroughly re-organized. Higher education too will be co-related with and imparted through productive and socially useful activities. There will be institutions imparting education in medicine, engineering and other specialized branches of knowledge. Universities will organize education in higher science, and run institutes for fundamental, industrial and technical research. As has been stated in an earlier section, industries will also have research bureaux attached to them. There will be State and National Research Councils to integrate research and exchange information on the results of research.

Where necessary, State governments will finance the universities, research institutions and institutes for high and specialized education within their jurisdiction. The Centre too may set up research institutes, and subsidize projects of research and higher education undertaken by the States.

A large number of teachers who share the zeal and eagerness to revolutionize education will have to be made available. Educational societies, and where necessary, State governments will, therefore, run institutions for training teachers.

There are many steps that can and should immediately be taken to revolutionize the existing system of education. The

methods, curricula, etc. in vogue will have to be radically reformed. Even in the period of transition the quality of higher education can be greatly improved if University education ceases to be regarded as an essential qualification for every kind of employment in Government Services and firms. The number of teachers, schools and training institutes will have to be increased. Teaching itself will have to be rehabilitated as a profession. The services of those who have retired from active professional work and are free to devote their experience and mellowness to the training up of young minds, should be made use of. It must also be recognized that, generally, women teachers are able to pay special attention to the problems of children of the lower classes. An increasing number of women may, therefore, be persuaded to take to teaching.

Over and above all this, the village community and the State Governments will have to undertake a campaign for adult and social education. This may be done effectively through the organization of one hour schools and folk universities. Adult education will not be confined to the three 'Rs', but will aim at training adults to be the enlightened citizens of the new social order. It has already been pointed out that the aims of Sarvodaya cannot be achieved by a mere reorganization of the economic and political structure of society. They can be realized, on the other hand, only through a patient and ceaseless process of education and persuasion that aims at bringing about a radical revolution in the outlook and values of the individuals, who are to be the very foundation of the new society.

XI. HEALTH AND HYGIENE

A Sarvodaya order cannot be established by merely refashioning the economic and political institutions in society. Sarvodaya stands for much more than an economic and political system based on equality and justice. It is a way of life, a way of

modelling one's own life and the life of society on the basis of the eternal principles of truth, love and non-violence. The swaraj that is visualized by Sarvodaya is the real swaraj that self-restraint alone can guarantee. The modes and habits of the people in a Sarvodaya social order will, therefore, be very different from those that obtain in our society today. They will be such as integrate the personality of man and release him from the tensions, physical and mental, that have become the hallmark of a highly industrialized society. When man is thus released from such tensions and provided with the opportunity to earn his livelihood in security and peace, when working conditions are conducive and not injurious to mental and physical health, when a nutritive, balanced diet is within the reach of all, when the village community and the State devote themselves to the removal of insanitary environmental conditions, the incidence of diseases that originate from starvation, malnutrition, insanitary environment and psychological tension and imbalance will be reduced appreciably. However, there will still be a host of diseases that need prevention and cure. The philosophy of Sarvodaya does not believe in encouraging people to indulge themselves at the cost of their health, by fostering the belief that drugs can provide impunity from the consequences of such injurious ways of living.

Every effort will, however, be made to provide facilities for the prevention and cure of diseases. The village community will consider it one of its primary duties to disseminate scientific knowledge about the causes and the treatment of diseases. The community and the State will ensure that adequate medical facilities are made available to all. Dispensaries, hospitals and consulting centres will, therefore, be set up in rural and urban areas in sufficient numbers, and Naturopathy, Ayurveda and other indigenous systems of medicine, Homeopathy and Allopathy will, be utilized to ensure that medical facilities are within the easy reach of all.

Facilities for the training of physicians and surgeons and for carrying on research will be extended to all systems of medicine. People will thus have the opportunity to avail of any of the recognized systems of medicine. But the community will educate people in the superiority of nature cure and will make them realize that indiscriminate drugging will not enable man to tread the path of self-indulgence with impunity.

Doctors will not be permitted to make their profession a means of amassing wealth. They will be paid by the community. The village community and higher bodies in rural and urban areas will organize schemes of health insurance.

The manufacture of drugs and medicines will be the concern of the community or the State. Many drugs may be manufactured locally, utilizing the herbs and resources available in the locality. The production of such drugs may be organized by the village community or the regional authorities, under the supervision of persons qualified in pharmaceutics. Each village will have a herbarium in which locally available medicinal herbs will be grown. Drugs and surgical implements that can be manufactured only with the help of resources or machinery, that villages or regions cannot have, will be produced by the State.

The community will make special efforts to provide for the hospitalization and treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy, tuberculosis, and cancer. Sanitoria, rest-homes and asylums will be built by the Regional authorities and placed within the reach of villagers.

Every effort will be made to wean people from injurious ways of living. The manufacture and sale of all kinds of spirituous liquor will be prohibited, except for authentic, medicinal purposes. Prohibition will be an accepted tenet of policy. Narcotic drugs like opium, and alcoholic drinks will not be sold for public consumption. They will be sold to doctors who will take care to see that they are dispensed only for medical use. When a balanced

diet and a decent standard of living are within the reach of all, when conditions of work are healthy and sanitary, when work itself ceases to be drudgery and becomes creative and enjoyable, when ample facilities are available for recreation and for utilizing leisure hours for cultural pursuits, there will be hardly any incentive that drives men to drown their worries in alcohol or narcotics.

The village community will devote special attention to sanitation and hygiene in the village, and will make people fully conscious of the role that these play in the prevention of diseases. Pure drinking water will be made available in every village. Cesspools near villages will be cleared, and open drainages will be closed. Everything will be done to rid villages of the breeding grounds of mosquitoes, flies and other carriers of disease.

People will be persuaded to use trench or bore latrines that are sanitary, cheap and capable of being constructed easily. The night soil and urine will be composted into manures. In towns where this is not feasible, flush latrines will be used, and the refuse will be utilized to produce gas for lighting, etc. Thus, night soil will be used to produce manure or gas, and the age-old injustice of maintaining a class of scavengers or Bhangis will end, both in towns and in rural areas.

Maternity homes will be established in villages. The services of trained midwives will be made available. Facilities will be provided for pre-natal and post-natal care.

Men and women will have to be taught that self-control is essential for the physical and moral health of both individual and society. Self-indulgence ruins the life of the individual and corrupts the moral fibre of society. Neither morality nor the pursuit of culture and light can have any meaning without self-control. It is in fact the corner stone on which the edifice of society stands.

If indulgence takes the place of self-control in the sex-life of individuals, society will have to bear its consequences in immora-

lity, disease, unhealthy growth in population, increase in infant mortality and insufficient care of children. Self-control alone can enable the husband and wife to respect each other's personality and maintain the moral climate of the family and of society. Mothers must be protected from the evil effects of frequent childbirth and children from the insufficient care they will receive if they are born at narrow intervals. All this can be done through the exercise of self-restraint. Society will, therefore, create an atmosphere that conduces to the acceptance and practice of self-restraint. It will give a new and healthier orientation to literature, films and other things that affect the moral climate of the individual and the society.

XII. DEFENCE

The requirements of defence have become the heaviest charge on the national budgets of most countries today. Even "neutral" nations who steer clear of the cold war find themselves compelled to spend a high proportion of their state revenues on maintaining and increasing the strength of their defence forces. They have friendly relations with all countries and do not expect to be victims of aggression. Yet they find that they cannot help maintaining strong armies to deal with internal and international exigencies.

The enormous increase in the destructive power of weapons has radically altered the character, strategy and outcome of wars. The traditional methods of defence and offence are inadequate in the face of nuclear weapons and guided missiles. The decisive weapons of war have become so costly and complicated that few nations today can hope to raise and equip an army that can defend itself with any certainty of success. Many nations are, therefore, seeking refuge in collective security and regional defence pacts. Even big powers who have sufficient resources to build up an armed might that can stand the test of modern

warfare find that they can no longer be certain of victory or even of impregnable defence. When the arms race is on, no one feels satisfied unless he is somewhere on the track. The enormous destructive power of nuclear weapons and the uncertainty and emptiness of the victory that may go to either side are fast generating a wholesome fear of war and its consequences. No one is eager to launch on a war in which victory is an uncertainty. Everyone is weary of war and desirous of disarmament. But no one is willing to take the initiative. Everyone is prepared to make a proportionate reduction in armaments if everyone else is willing to do likewise. The vicious circle seems to be complete, and every nation seems to be compelled to pray for peace and prepare for the eventuality of war.

Sarvodaya has no faith in violence and, therefore, in war. It is opposed to all manifestations of violence, whether it be in the lives of individuals or of nations. It believes in solving tensions and disputes on a moral basis by the peaceful methods of persuasion and Satyagraha. It does not believe that war can solve any disputes, and, therefore, wants nations to adopt peaceful methods that will lead to the genuine settlement of disputes. The peace that it visualizes is not an armed peace in which nations hold themselves back on the brink of a shooting war. It does not think that peace can be achieved by frightening each other into non-aggression. It believes, on the other hand, that war can be eliminated only when nations solemnly eschew it as a means of settling international disputes. If war is to be eliminated, nations must disarm themselves. But if disarmament is to wait till every nation agrees to disarm itself, it may as well have to wait for all time. Someone must take the lead and show the way. The present deadlock in the plans for disarmament can never be solved, unless some country has the courage to show the way through unilateral action. A man who believes in non-violence does not wait till the adversary too accepts non-violence. He pits his non-violent strength against

the violence of the adversary. Nations too will have to do likewise, if humanity is ever to get rid of war. All forms of Satyagraha depend on the Satyagrahi's determination to adhere to truth and non-violence, even unilaterally. Those who believe in Sarvodaya will, therefore, consider it their duty to persuade their nations to cultivate the supreme courage needed for renouncing war unilaterally.

(1) India has a long historical tradition of faith in the way of peace. The non-violent movement for national freedom, initiated and developed by Gandhiji, was the latest manifestation of this tradition. This movement not only demonstrated the possibilities of the way of peace in the national field, but also initiated the development of certain techniques in the implementation of this faith. It is the duty of India to extend this faith and the technique to the international field and take the initiative in launching upon a policy and programme of unilateral disarmament. The sooner India takes this step, the better for her and the world.

(2) Conflicts in Society-national or international Society are caused by the present faulty basis of human life which has been discussed above in Part I. Therefore, for disarmament to succeed and war to be eschewed, it would be necessary to work for and bring about a revolution in the basis of international life. Today every nation conceives of its interests so narrowly as to exclude the interests of other nation. The Sarvodaya view is that there can not be a conflict in the good of individuals or nations. Just as freedom and peace are indivisible so also is good indivisible. There cannot be a conflict of goods. What appears to be the national good today will turn into an evil to-morrow, if it comes into conflicts with the good of another nation. It is necessary, therefore, for the peoples of the world to understand that interests which seem to be in conflict with others' interest cannot really conduce in the long run to the

national good. There can be world peace only when the interests of the world community come to be placed above, what is narrowly conceived to be the national interest. Therefore, world peace requires harmonizing of interests, and the evolution of an international way of life in which nations do not think exclusively of their own good, but also of the good of others and are prepared to help one another and make sacrifices in that behalf.

A decisive step in this direction would already have been taken by the implementation of a plan of the kind outlined in the earlier chapters. When the social and economic institutions and relationships in a country are refashioned on the anvils of non-violence, the nation will have a greater appreciation of the power of non-violence, and will be prepared to defend itself non-violently. The elimination of poverty, exploitation and inequality will unite the nation and make it better fitted for organizing non-violent self-defence. The way of life in a non-violent society will itself be such as trains the citizens in the art of non-violent defence. A Sarvodaya society can have no aggressive or expansionist intentions; nor will it give any provocation for attack, since it will have nothing but genuine friendship and fellow-feeling for all nations. The fear of war will, therefore, begin to fade and give place to fearlessness and self-reliance.

But it may be argued that such a social order is yet to be established and that nations will have to be prepared to defend themselves in the meanwhile. We will avoid involvement with power blocs and follow a policy of genuine and active friendship for all. People everywhere are sick of violence but do not seem to have given up faith in the use of violence as a means of settling national and international disputes. They are still diffident and sceptical about the feasibility of non-violent defence. Those who believe in non-violence will try to create an atmosphere that will be conducive to the adoption of non-violent methods of defence. But this sceptism and diffidence cannot be removed in a day. And as

long as people put their faith in the ultimate necessity or efficacy of war and violence, Governments cannot be expected to disband their armies and to abjure armed defence. Thus they cannot do so unless there is, among the people, a wide-spread and deep-rooted faith in the feasibility, efficacy and superiority of non-violent defence. They will, therefore, organize the defence of the country with the help of the weapons and methods that they believe in.

Votaries of non-violence will offer the highest form of active non-violent resistance and show how armed aggression can be met, resisted and overcome by Satyagraha and non-co-operation. But they cannot do this, unless they eliminate all manifestations of violence from their own lives, and train groups of volunteers in the art of resisting violence with non-violence. This is the only way in which they can convince sceptics of the feasibility and superiority of non-violent defence.

Since votaries of non-violence do not want nations to depend on the strength of their armed forces in international relations, they will themselves cease to depend on the protection that the armed strength of the military and the police give them within the country. They will not, therefore, seek the help of the police in dealing with crime and disorder, but will try to deal with every such situation non-violently. They will organize a standing corps of volunteers, a Shantisena, to help in dealing with the violent situations that may arise within their locality. The members of the Shantisena will, by learning to grapple with violent situations within their areas, gradually learn to lead the community in meeting armed aggression with non-violent, non-co-operation and other forms of Satyagraha.

The Government and the organized political parties of the country can also help in creating an atmosphere that is conducive to unilateral disarmament and non-violent defence. Parties and political groups should come together and decide that they will

eschew all forms of agitation that will lead to demonstrators getting out of control and resorting to violence, thereby inviting the Government to prove the superiority of the physical force at its command. The Government should give up the use of the army to quell civil disturbances within the country, and concentrate on removing the causes of disaffection, and on educating and reflecting public opinion. If, after exploring all avenues of persuasion and conciliation, the Government feels that it has to use the police force to prevent the outbreak of violence and safeguard life and property, it must consider it its duty to minimize the use of force and confine it to preventive measures, and be prepared to convince impartial judicial bodies that the use of force was necessary to prevent violence and that the quantum of force used was the minimum that the occasion warranted.

XIII. TAXATION

The means and methods of raising public revenue and the considerations governing public expenditure will undergo a radical change in a Sarvodaya social order. The system of taxation in our society today is iniquitious and retrogressive. There is a multiplicity of taxes, many of them being indirect levies, and the incidence of taxation is heavy on the poor. Though the rich too are being taxed and are having to pay much in terms of money, the proportion of their income that they have to yield to the state as taxes is much less than what is extracted from the poor through indirect taxes which the latter cannot even detect at times. All this is largely inevitable in a society that does not make a radical and determined effort to end the inequities that characterize its industrial and agrarian structure. Moreover, our centralized and top-heavy system of administration today is such that the Centre reserves for itself the right to tap almost all primary and lucrative sources of income, and leaves inadequate resources to the basic and regional units. The latter thus become dependent on the Centre

which is hardly in direct touch with the people and, therefore, hardly capable of realizing the pressing requirements on which public expenditure is warranted in the units. The 'maximum social advantage' that in theory guides the state in determining heads of public expenditure thus becomes arbitrary and illusory, and hardly related to the day-to-day requirements of the people. All this will have to change in a Sarvodaya social order.

In a Sarvodaya order, therefore, the right to levy and collect amounts of contributions 'what are today called taxes' will vest in the basic units i.e. villages, municipal committees in towns and the regional governments. The units will thus have a direct and sizeable income, and will not have to depend on the distant Centre for undertaking projects that are meant to satisfy the felt wants of the locality. A portion of the revenue thus raised by the unit will be handed over to the State Government and the Centre. These too will have additional direct sources of income, besides the quota that they receive from the units.

The taxes levied by the units may be paid either in kind or cash, or in labour where the presence of a labour bank makes this feasible.

Since indirect taxes are bound to be retrogressive and iniquitious in their incidence, and are levied on the basis of an assumption that the citizen will be unwilling to pay a direct voluntary contribution to public revenue, and will, therefore, have to be made to pay without knowing that he is paying a tax, it will be preferable in a Sarvodaya social order to eliminate all indirect taxation and collect a direct contribution from all those whose incomes are above a basic level that may be fixed. This direct income tax (covering agricultural income as well as income from any other kind of work) will be progressive and graded, to ensure that there is no

inequity in the proportion of income that each is called upon to part with. Even those whose incomes are below the taxable level may offer a contribution to the village community. But this will be purely optional and symbolic.

It may be necessary especially in the period of transition, for the central administration itself to assess and determine the direct taxes and even to take over the responsibility of collecting them in the cases of persons who derive their incomes from many sources, if all these sources do not fall within the territorial limits of a single basic or regional unit. This as well as the necessity of meeting the requirements of administration at various levels will necessitate a system of fixing and adjusting the quotas of revenue that will be appropriated by or allotted the various units of administration.

Such a direct tax on incomes can perhaps be expected to yield enough public revenue only when the number of families below the basic taxable level is appreciably reduced. Moreover, in the period of transition, when the regional authorities have to find large amounts of capital for effecting the re-organization of the industrial system, it may be difficult to raise the desired amount of revenue from this source alone. This deficit or short-fall will have to be met from contributions received through Sampattidan, and if necessary, some kind of indirect taxes that may be levied during the period of transition. But, care will be taken to see that such indirect taxes touch only the richer section of the community. During the period of transition, the main sources of public revenue for the units, the States and the Centre, may be regarded as the following :—

Unit :
1. Direct income tax
2. Tax on real estate
3. Taxes on luxuries
4. Cess on irrigated land

5. Octroi duties on goods produced by centralized industries
6. Inheritance tax

State :
1. A share of the direct tax on income
2. Revenue from civil administration
3. Revenue from regionally organized public utilities and State undertakings
4. Income from forest produce

Centre :
1. A share of the direct tax on income
2. Income from public utilities
3. Income from industries organized by the Centre
4. Income from State Trading Corporations
5. Income from civil administration
6. Import and export duties
7. Income from mineral resources and forest produce.

XIV. FINANCING THE PLAN

As has been stated in the introductory sections, the Sarvodaya plan will differ fundamentally from other plans, not only in the content and orientation of the plan, and the objectives that it seeks to achieve, but also in the methods of formulation and implementation. It is not a plan that a group of bureaucrats sitting at national headquarters can formulate and implement, mainly through administrative agencies and, where possible, with public participation.

Our plan will be formulated in the villages, by the village community. These village plans will be put together and integrated on a regional and national basis. It will, therefore, be difficult to estimate the exact amount of finance that will be required for the fulfilment of the plan before the village plans are formulated and integrated by the co-ordinating agencies.

It can be said that the capital that will be required for the implementation of a plan of the kind that has been visualized in the foregoing chapters, in terms of money, may be much less than what would be necessary if the targets that this plan seeks to achieve were to be achieved by a plan that bases itself on heavy industrialization and centralization. The Sarvodaya Plan, however, may require a far bigger outlay in the organization of capital goods and services, including services in kind if it is to be successfully implemented.

The Sarvodaya Plan, as has been indicated in the earlier sections, will be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. Nor will it need a cumbersome, complicated and costly machinery for its execution. Every step of the plan, from formulation to implementation, will depend on local initiative and the collective effort to carry it through.

Though it is difficult to estimate the actual amount of finances that will be required for the implementation of the plan, the sources from which they may be raised can be indicated. These will mainly be (1) public revenue from the taxes referred to in the chapter on taxation, (2) mobilization of savings, (3) the machinery, equipment and capital that will be taken over by the state from the private sector that exists today, (4) Shramdan, Sampattidan, Sutanjali and other voluntary contributions in kind, (5) bonafide, unconditional aid that other countries may give in technical skill, implements and machinery, money, etc. and (6) deficit financing to the extent that this can be expected to keep pace with the estimated increase in production.

If, however, the sources indicated above are not sufficient to raise the entire finances required for the plan, the period set for achieving the targets of the plan may be extended, but, on no account, will the principles of the plan be sacrificed merely to reach material targets within an arbitrary period.

XV. MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

Since the Plan itself is to be formulated and built up from below, and not framed and executed by the Centre, the machinery for implementation will also have to be such as is consistent with the principles of the Plan and the need to make formulation and implementation thoroughly efficient and democratic. Basic units will, therefore, have to be clothed with all the power and resources necessary for this purpose. The Plan thus envisages a devolution of power from the apex to the base.

It has been stated that the local community itself will be responsible for formulating and implementing the Plan. In villages it will be the village community, functioning through the Panchayat and the Multi-purpose co-operative society, and in the towns it will be the adult population of the town functioning through the municipal committee and its Multipurpose co-operative society. The Panchayat, or the municipal committee will be responsible for the protection of the life and property of the citizens, preventing and dealing with the activities of anti-social elements, providing educational, medical and recreational facilities and managing the general life of the community. It will be elected by the adult population of the village or the town. Its decisions will generally be arrived at by following the consensus of opinion. When it sits as a judicial body, its decisions will be arrived at unanimously.

The educational and recreational institutions in the village will organize the cultural life of the community.

The Multi-purpose co-operative will be the agency through which the village community will organize and manage its economic activities. The Multi-purpose co-operative society will have different sections to deal with the varied economic activities in the village or town. It will provide such assistance as it may enlist from outside, the technical skill and equipment necessary both

for framing and implementing the Plan. It will have departments to deal with (1) Over-all planning; (2) Trade; (3) Industry —procurement of raw materials, management of production, and marketing of produce in both the self-employed and co-operative sectors; (4) Agricultural and Industrial credit; (5) Banking (including a Labour Bank wherever possible) and (6) Insurance.

The Planning wings of the Multi-purpose co-operative societies in a region or State will be co-ordinated by a State or Regional Planning Commission.

There will be a Central National Planning Commission composed of representatives of the State Planning Commissions. The Central Commission will (1) assess national requirements and resources, (2) lay down principles, and prepare an over-all outline for the guidance of units and States and (3) co-ordinate and integrate plans on a national level.

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